

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE
HISTORY OF THE TOWN

READ BY SOME OF THE MEMBERS.

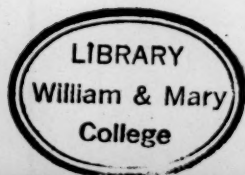
VOLUME IV.



FITCHBURG, MASS.:
PUBLISHED BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1908.

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SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY,
FITCHBURG.



OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1908.

President,

FREDERICK F. WOODWARD.

Vice-Presidents,

CHARLES FOSDICK,

GEORGE A. HITCHCOCK.

Secretary,

EBENEZER BAILEY.

Treasurer,

FREDERICK A. CURRIER.

Librarian,

JAMES F. D. GARFIELD.

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PROCEEDINGS.

JANUARY 15, 1900.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, city hall building, President Willis in the chair.

The annual reports of the secretary, treasurer and librarian were read and accepted.

The report of the treasurer showed receipts for the year of \$172.00 and payments of \$168.02. Total assets, \$195.20.

The librarian's report showed receipts of eleven bound volumes, forty-six pamphlets, and other material of a miscellaneous nature during the year.

Officers for the current year were elected as follows:

Clerk: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Willis, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Atherton P. Mason and James F. D. Garfield.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Charles E. Ware.

Voted, that the president and secretary, in behalf of the society, petition the city government for an appropriation to continue the publication of the old town records.

At a meeting of the executive committee, held immediately following the annual meeting, the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Willis.

Vice-Presidents: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward.

Treasurer and Librarian: Atherton P. Mason.

FEBRUARY 19, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. Henry F. Coggs shall was elected a member of the society.

The committee chosen at the annual meeting to petition the city government in relation to the publication of the Fitchburg town records, reported that in response to their petition, the city government had appropriated \$950 for the purpose of continuing the publication during the present year.

Mr. Frederick A. Currier read a paper on the "Old Stores and Storekeepers of Fitchburg," covering a period from the incorporation of the town in 1764 to the opening of the Fitchburg railroad in 1845.

MARCH 19, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis presiding. Mr. George A. Hitchcock was elected a member of the society.

Prof. E. Adams Hartwell read a paper on the "Pearl Hill Pot Hole," explaining the theory of its glacial origin, and giving in connection therewith an informal, but very instructive talk on other pot holes, as found in Fitchburg and elsewhere.

APRIL 16, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, Vice-President F. F. Woodward presiding.

The paper of the evening was by Prof. E. Adams Hartwell, the subject being "The Stars, their Magnitude and Distances, their Size and Composition."

MAY 21, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, Vice-President Goodrich presiding.

Mr. F. A. Currier read his second paper on "Old Stores and Storekeepers of Fitchburg," covering the period from 1845 to 1864.

OCTOBER 15, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair.

Prof. E. Adams Hartwell gave a lecture on "Eclipses," with special reference to the eclipse of the sun witnessed by him in the month of May previous, at Norfolk, Va.

NOVEMBER 19, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. Festus C. Currier, Mrs. Adaline Snow and Miss Lucy Fay were elected members of the society.

A paper was read by Mr. Henry B. Adams, on the "Old Militia Companies of Fitchburg and Vicinity."

DECEMBER 17, 1900.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. The librarian reported the receipt of a partial file of the Boston Daily Journal for 1864.

JANUARY 21, 1901.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. J. Milton Hubbard was elected a member of the society.

The annual reports of the secretary, treasurer and librarian were read and accepted.

The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$89.80 and payments of \$100.86. Total assets, \$222.12.

The report of the librarian showed receipts of one hundred and forty-four bound volumes, one hundred and nine pamphlets and other miscellaneous material.

Officers for the current year were elected as follows:

Clerk: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Willis, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Atherton P. Mason and James F. D. Garfield.

Treasurer and Librarian: Atherton P. Mason.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Ebenezer Bailey.

The president and secretary were made a committee to petition the city government for an appropriation to continue the publication of the old town records.

At a meeting of the executive committee, held immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting, the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Willis.

Vice-Presidents: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward.

FEBRUARY 18, 1901.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Several names were proposed for membership, but no paper was read.

MARCH 18, 1901.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, Vice-President Goodrich in the chair. Elmer A. Onthank and Walter F. Stiles were elected active members, and Rev. George M. Bodge a corresponding member of the society.

The secretary read extracts from a series of letters written by Rufus C. Torrey during the ten years subsequent to his leaving Fitchburg (1836 to 1846), giving vivid pictures of life in the backwoods settlements of Mississippi and Alabama.

APRIL 15, 1901.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Thomas C. Sheldon was elected to membership.

Mr. Henry B. Adams read a paper on the "Early Explorers of Boston Harbor."

The secretary read a letter from the Hon. Ezra S. Stearns of Rindge, giving a record of some of the old-time stage drivers, residents of Fitchburg.

A committee was appointed to see if measures could be taken to prevent the destruction of the boulder on Rollstone hill.

The secretary read a letter from Edgar L. Spafford of Watervliet, N. Y., giving the genealogy of that branch of the Spafford family, which at the time of the incorporation of Fitchburg occupied the old Spafford garrison house on the easterly side of Pearl hill.

MAY 20, 1901.—At the regular monthly meeting, held in the common council room, no paper was read.

OCTOBER 21, 1901.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Miss Mary Caroline Green of Dorchester and Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson of New York city were elected corresponding members of the society.

Mr. Ebenezer Bailey read a paper on the "Separation of Church and State in Massachusetts."

DECEMBER 16, 1901.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair.

Miss Lucy A. Hayward, Rev. Arthur W. Littlefield and Frederick R. Houghton were elected active members of the society, and Ellery I. Garfield of Lexington, Mass., a corresponding member.

Mr. George A. Hitchcock read a paper, entitled "The First Half Century of the C. C. Church in Fitchburg."

JANUARY 20, 1902.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. George P. Hitchcock was elected a member of the society.

The annual reports of the secretary, treasurer and librarian were read and accepted.

The report of the treasurer showed receipts for the year of \$66.40, expenses \$63.80, and total cash resources of \$284.84.

The librarian reported accessions for the year of twelve bound volumes, twenty-three pamphlets, eight manuscripts, and a variety of other material.

The secretary, in his tenth annual report, said:

"During these ten years, ninety-one meetings have been held, at which eighty papers of more or less historical interest—nearly all pertaining to local affairs, and including one elaborate historical address—have been prepared and read by one or another of the members.

The society has accumulated, largely by gift, but partly by exchange, a library of between six hundred and seven hundred bound volumes, besides pamphlets, estimated at from two thousand to three thousand."

The following officers were elected for the current year:

Clerk: Ebenezer Bailey.

Treasurer: Frederick A. Currier.

Librarian: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Goodrich, Henry A. Willis, Frederick F. Woodward, James F. D. Garfield, Ebenezer Bailey.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Charles Fosdick.

The president and secretary were chosen a committee to petition the city government for an appropriation to continue the work of copying and printing the old town records.

A paper prepared by Mr. E. Foster Bailey was read, entitled "Reminiscences of the Second Meeting House in Fitchburg."

At a meeting of the executive committee, held subsequent to the annual meeting, the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Goodrich.

First Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

Second Vice-President: James F. D. Garfield.

FEBRUARY, 1902.—The regular meeting was omitted on account of a severe snow storm.

MARCH 17, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Goodrich in the chair. Hon. Ezra S. Stearns and Mrs. Rosa H. Brown were elected members of the society.

The secretary reported that the city council had acted favorably on the petition of the society for an appropriation to continue the publication of the old town records.

APRIL, 21, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich in the chair.

The secretary read a paper, written by Mr. E. Foster Bailey, entitled "Reminiscences Relating to the Old Town Hall."

MAY 19, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich in the chair.

Mr. Willis, of the committee on the preservation of the Rollstone boulder, reported that he was authorized to state that the boulder would be moved to a location which would be satisfactory to the society and to the owners, without expense to the society, and it was voted that such action would be approved by the society.

President Goodrich read an interesting and valuable paper on "Church Organs and Some of the Early Builders in New England."

OCTOBER 20, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding. The librarian reported among other gifts, the presentation by Dr. Jabez Fisher, of the records of the Fitchburg Farmers' Club from 1856 to 1871.

An interesting paper was presented by Mr. F. C. Currier, entitled "Recollections and Observations of the Nineteenth Century."

NOVEMBER, 17, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding. Rev. James DeWolfe Perry and Mr. Marcus A. Coolidge were elected members of the society.

The paper of the evening was a continuation of Mr. F. C. Currier's reminiscences and observations of the nineteenth century, with particular reference to religious and educational matters.

DECEMBER 15, 1902.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding. Mr. C. A. Batchelder was elected a member of the society.

The paper of the evening was read by the secretary. It was a short historical sketch of the Fitchburg Workman's Association, which was organized in 1844, and continued in existence until the following May. The original record book of the association was presented to the society by Mr. E. Foster Bailey, its last secretary, and the only known surviving member.

JANUARY 19, 1903.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, Vice-President Woodward presiding. The annual reports of the secretary, treasurer and librarian were read and accepted. The report of the treasurer showed receipts for the year of \$224.79, and disbursements of \$207.80. The report of the librarian showed the receipt during the year of seventy-four bound volumes and fifty-seven pamphlets. The total collections of the society to date were more than seven

hundred bound volumes, nearly seventeen hundred pamphlets, twenty-three maps, more than three hundred manuscripts, and six albums of mounted photographs.

The following officers were elected:

Clerk: Ebenezer Bailey.

Treasurer: Frederick A. Currier.

Librarian: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Henry A. Willis, James F. D. Garfield, Ebenezer Bailey.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Charles E. Ware.

The librarian read an interesting letter from Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson, widow of Dr. Charles Robinson, former governor of Kansas.

Voted to authorize the secretary to petition the city council to continue the publication of the old records of the town of Fitchburg.

A meeting of the executive committee was held, following the annual meeting, and the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Goodrich.

First Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

Second Vice-President: James F. D. Garfield.

FEBRUARY 16, 1903.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

Harrison Bailey, Esq., read a paper, entitled "Early Real Estate Owners in Fitchburg." He described the large holdings of real estate in Fitchburg, held successively by Thomas Fitch, Andrew Oliver and Elias Haskell. He gave a detailed description of some eight hundred and fifty acres of said land, covering what is now a part of the thickly settled portion of the city, on the north side of the river.

MARCH 16, 1903.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

The paper of the evening was written by Mr. E. Foster Bailey. It was a sketch of Ebenezer Whittemore, one of the unique characters of Fitchburg who lived more than sixty years ago.

OCTOBER 19, 1903.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding. The secretary read a paper, entitled "Fitchburg Preparatory to the Revolution."

JANUARY 18, 1904.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Goodrich in the chair. Mrs. Carolyn B. Tufts was elected a member of the society.

The annual report of the secretary was read and accepted.

The annual report of the treasurer showed receipts of \$155.92 and disbursements of \$152.98, during the year.

The librarian's report showed that the society had received during the year thirty-nine bound volumes, fifty-one pamphlets and seven manuscripts.

The following officers were elected:

Clerk: Ebenezer Bailey.

Treasurer: Frederick A. Currier.

Librarian: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, James F. D. Garfield, Henry A. Willis, Ebenezer Bailey.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Harrison Bailey.

Voted, that the president and secretary be instructed to petition the city government to complete the publication of the sixth volume of the old town records.

At a subsequent meeting of the executive committee the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Goodrich.

First Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

Second Vice-President: James F. D. Garfield.

MARCH 21, 1904.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich in the chair.

The librarian exhibited to the members and read from some old letters and documents of the Revolutionary period, which were very interesting.

It was voted that the secretary prepare a paper on the history of the present city hall building, to be read at the next meeting of the society.

APRIL 18, 1904.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the residence of the librarian, President Goodrich presiding. A paper was read by the secretary on the "Early History of the City Hall," after which the members present inspected, with much interest, the library of the society, which the librarian had arranged and fitted up at his residence.

MAY 16, 1904.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the residence of Mr. F. C. Currier, Mt. Vernon street, President Goodrich presiding. Milton L. Cushing and Gardner K. Hudson were elected members of the society.

An interesting paper was read, entitled "Recollections of a Visit to Richmond at the Close of the War," written by Mr. F. C. Currier.

OCTOBER 17, 1904.—The regular monthly meeting was held in Grand Army hall, President Goodrich presiding. Clarence W. Colburn was elected a member of the society.

An interesting paper was read by Mr. George A. Hitchcock, entitled "From Ashby to Andersonville—an Historical Reminiscence." The exercises were listened to by a large number of members and friends of Post 19, of the Grand Army.

NOVEMBER 21, 1904.—The regular monthly meeting was held, by invitation, at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, at which the members of the society listened to an interesting paper by Mr. F. A. Currier on "A Trip to the Great Lakes."

JANUARY 16, 1905.—The annual meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

The annual report of the secretary was read and accepted.

The annual report of the treasurer, showing a balance on hand of \$168.09, was read and accepted.

The annual report of the librarian was read and accepted, showing eight hundred and fifty bound volumes, and from sixteen hundred to eighteen hundred pamphlets in the possession of the society.

The following officers were elected by ballot:

Clerk: Ebenezer Bailey.

Treasurer: Frederick A. Currier.

Librarian: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, James F. D. Garfield, Henry A. Willis, Ebenezer Bailey.

Committee on Nominations (for three years): Charles Fosdick.

Voted, that the president and secretary be authorized to petition the city government to publish another volume of the old town records.

At a subsequent meeting of the executive committee, the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Goodrich.

First Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

Second Vice-President: Charles Fosdick.

FEBRUARY 20, 1905.—The regular monthly meeting was held in Grand Army hall, on invitation of Post 19, G. A. R. Dr. Joseph W. Palmer and Miss Theresa N. Garfield were elected members of the society.

An interesting paper was read on "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln," by Mr. Wesley R. Batchelder of Boston, who was an eye-witness of the event.

MARCH 20, 1905.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

Mr. Henry A. Willis reviewed and read extracts from a printed copy of an oration delivered in Fitchburg, July 4, 1803, in the old church on the common, by William Cunningham, Jr., who then resided on South street, on the "Burnap place."

MAY 15, 1905.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

Rev. F. W. Martini read a paper on the "Impressions of a Tourist," the result of a recent visit to that section of country between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains.

OCTOBER 16, 1905.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

A paper was read by Hon. Henry F. Rockwell, on "Fitchburg Druggists, Past and Present."

DECEMBER 18, 1905.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

An informal talk, introduced by a short paper by the librarian, was held upon the subject of early cotton and woolen manufacturing in Fitchburg. It was participated in by most of the members present.

JANUARY 15, 1906.—The annual meeting of the society was held in the common council room, President Goodrich presiding.

The annual report of the secretary was read and accepted.

The annual report of the treasurer, showing a balance on hand of \$224.61, was read and accepted.

The annual report of the librarian, showing receipt during the year of forty-five bound volumes, three hundred and thirty-three pamphlets, besides other miscellaneous gifts, was read and accepted.

The following officers were elected:

Clerk: Ebenezer Bailey.

Librarian: James F. D. Garfield.

Treasurer: Frederick A. Currier.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Goodrich, Henry A. Willis, James F. D. Garfield, Frederick F. Woodward, Charles Fosdick.

Charles E. Ware was elected a member of the nominating committee for three years.

An interesting paper on "Photography" was read by Mr. J. C. Moulton, who has been in that business in Fitchburg since 1848.

A meeting of the executive committee was held, at which the following officers were chosen:

President: Henry A. Goodrich.

First Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

Second Vice-President: Charles Fosdick.

APRIL 16, 1906.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held in the office of the mayor, President Goodrich presiding.

A paper was read by Mr. George A. Hitchcock, entitled "A Colonial Patriot, Ancestor of an old Fitchburg Family." This colonial patriot was Robert Kinsman, who settled in Ipswich in 1634, and was one of the leading protestants in that town against the tyranny of Sir William Andros, for which he was fined and imprisoned. Jeremiah Kinsman, his descendant in the third generation, removed to Fitchburg at the close of the Revolution, and was the ancestor of many worthy citizens of that town and city.

MAY 21, 1906.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the assembly room of the High School building.

The Hon. George J. Burns of Ayer delivered an address on the history and advantages of the Hoosac Tunnel, an undertaking which owed its inception and completion largely to the efforts and enthusiasm of the Hon. Alvah Crocker of Fitchburg.

OCTOBER 15, 1906.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the room of the board of aldermen, city hall building, President Goodrich presiding.

The evening was taken up with political and educational reminiscences of a half century ago.

NOVEMBER 19, 1906.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the common council room, President Good-

rich in the chair. Rev. F. W. Martini was elected a member of the society.

A pamphlet, entitled "Charles Robinson and the Kansas Epoch," which had been received from the widow of Ex-Gov. Robinson of Lawrence, Kansas, was read by the secretary.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

A paper read at a meeting of the Society, October 21, 1901.

BY EBENEZER BAILEY.

The best and truest history is not the relation of wars, the enumeration of battles and sieges, the acts of kings and emperors. It is the study of the social life of a people, an analysis of causes, as well as a statement of effects. As a modifier of social life, and as a moving force in the history of nations, religion has been of vast importance, and nowhere has it been more powerful and so interlocked with all the other state building forces as in the history of Massachusetts during the first two centuries of its political life.

It was a desire to found a state where they could carry out ideas of a biblical government and a righteous community, which led the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay. They did not seek religious freedom, but they *did* seek to found a religious state. At the time of their arrival there were various settlers along the coast whose religious standards were varied, and, in some cases, were of very little account. These people were in a few months called to a common meeting place by the Puritan authorities, who proceeded to make known to them their future policy and method of government. A paper containing certain articles was given them to sign, "the purport of which was that the tenor of God's word was to be the basis upon which the law, civil and ecclesiastical, was to be administered." Banishment was the penalty for not signing. Four years later it was decided that "no men shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of

the same." It is not surprising that Mr. William Blackstone, who had settled within the limits of Boston, should say, "I came from England because I did not like the Lords Bishops, but I can't join with you because I would not be under the Lords Brethren,"—and he moved into the wilderness.

It was not long before many of the new settlers found that they could not endure the autocratic government of the magistrates, and there was a large emigration westward to the Connecticut. All but eleven families left Cambridge for Hartford between 1835 and 1837. There was also a migration from Roxbury, under the leadership of William Pynchon, to Springfield. This Pynchon wrote a book on the atonement, which was publicly burned in the market place in Boston.

Not only did the Puritan leaders believe in this autocratic kind of government on its religious side, but in a purely political way they were far from believing in democracy. Said John Cotton, "Democracy is no fit government, either for State or for Commonwealth; and John Winthrop wrote, "The best part is always the least, and of that part the wiser is always the lesser." Another thing was said by Winthrop, which probably reflected the sentiments of the magistrates and ministers. "The safety of the Commonwealth is the supreme law, and if, in the interests of that safety it should be found necessary to renounce the authority of Parliament, the colonists would be justified in doing so." He meant that government by Puritan church members was necessary to the safety of the Commonwealth.

Here, then, on Massachusetts soil, was a government set up, which not only recognized a state church, but the government was the church, and the rule of law and the standard of conduct was the Bible. The magistrates and the ministers were to enforce the word of God, and if no one had ever challenged their infallibility as to its interpretation, their ideal might have been realized without a struggle, but there grew up among the people and even among the ministers, a tendency to controversy on points of theology, and a habit of private interpretation of the Scriptures. This was really the one weakness of Protes-

tantism as against Catholicism, and it was especially the weakness of Congregationalism. The Puritan leaders felt it to be a necessity to strengthen their weakest point.

The controversy with Anne Hutchinson, who maintained that most of the ministers and magistrates were under a covenant of works, while she and her followers were under a covenant of faith, brought the authorities to the point of persecution. The points around which the conflict raged were such fine theological ones as to seem almost ludicrous to us. Winthrop said that Mrs. Hutchinson "brought into New England two dangerous errors: first that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; and, second that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification." At any rate she converted all the women and most of the men of the Boston church, to the great disgust of its pastor. The magistrates and the ministers succeeded in having her cast out of the church and banished from the colony.

Of the persecutions of the Quakers and of Roger Williams it need only be said that they were the logical result of the theory of government which had been set up. That is, a government in which heresy was destructive of authority. It was believed that if men of weak minds were allowed to interpret the Bible in a different way from the magistrates, they were overturning the foundations of government, which was founded on the correct interpretation of the word of God; and the safety of the government required their immediate suppression. The success of their little Commonwealth really required many of the harsh measures which were used.

The theory that we are right and everybody else is wrong is not, however, a practical working theory for public or private life. It may do to hold it, but it is disastrous to live up to it. Our Puritan ancestors were before long obliged to relax their restrictions on citizenship. Given an intelligent, self-reliant people, such as were the Puritans, men who were familiar with the stimulating literature of the English Bible, so favorable to independent thought, and no man-made system of theology could long hold them all in its bonds. So it happened that there were

in a generation or two many who did not wish to subscribe to all the tenets of the state church. At one time nearly four-fifths of the adult males in Massachusetts were disfranchised because they could not participate in the Lord's Supper. Why should men of good character and religious principle be denied political rights? It could not be allowed that men should vote who were not church members, but this must either be done or the doors to church membership must be thrown more widely open. They chose the latter alternative, and allowed all persons of good moral character, who had been baptized in infancy, to be considered members of the church, although they were not allowed to participate in the Lord's Supper. This was called the "Halfway Covenant," and did not come about without great opposition. With the accession of William III. to the English throne, and a new charter, political privileges were still further enlarged—no qualification of church membership being required for voting. A property qualification was substituted.

The "Halfway Covenant," the influence of the French and Indian wars, the increasing interest in trade and commerce, and a natural reaction from the intense spiritual exaltation of earlier times, brought about a general indifference and dullness of religious feeling in the churches. It was felt that a great spiritual awakening was needed; and, indeed, a great revival of religion occurred, spreading throughout the state about the year 1735. This was largely due to the influence and preaching of the great Jonathan Edwards, who laid the foundation of the Calvinistic theology of New England. About five years later the great Methodist preacher of England, George Whitefield, came to New England. He preached to crowds in Boston, Worcester and other towns. Unlike Wesley, he believed in Calvinism, and he had the sympathy of the New England churches. The following is an extract from his diary at the time of his visit to Worcester, in company with Gov. Belcher, in 1740:

"Wednesday, Oct. 15.—Perceived the Governor to be more affectionate than ever. After morning prayer he took me by myself, kissed me, wept, and exhorted me to go on stirring up the ministers; 'for,' said

he, 'reformation must begin at the house of God.' As we were going to meeting, says he, 'Mr. Whitefield, do not spare me any more than the ministers, no, not the chief of them.' I preached in the open air to some thousands. The word fell with weight, indeed, it carried all before it. After sermon the Governor said to me, 'I pray God I may apply what has been said to my own heart. Pray, Mr. Whitefield, that I may hunger and thirst after righteousness.' Dinner being ended, with tears in his eyes, he kissed and took leave of me. Oh that we may meet in heaven! I have observed that I have had greater power than ordinary whenever the Governor has been at public worship. A sign, I hope, that the Most High intends effectively to bring him home and place him at his right hand. * * * * * Preached at Leicester in the afternoon, with some, though not so much power as in the morning."

This great religious awakening in New England, while it stirred up and strengthened the orthodox in the churches, was the cause of a stricter line being drawn between the two theological parties, the Calvinists and the Arminians. Harvard college was becoming Arminian, while Yale was the stronghold of Calvinism, and these revivals of religion strengthened both parties. The forces were at work for a dissolution of church and state.

Political events were soon forcing the colonies into the Revolution, and theology was pushed for awhile to the background. At this time the majority in most of the churches and of the parishes were Calvinistic. In 1785 a portion of the church in Worcester wished to settle the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, who held Arminian or Unitarian views, but the parish refused. A new church and society was formed which settled Mr. Bancroft, but there were but two ministers in the county whom it was deemed safe to invite to the ordination, the Rev. Timothy Harrington of Lancaster, and Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg.

It was about this time that the Rev. Thomas Goss of Bolton had the misfortune to become unsatisfactory to a majority of his church, and they proceeded to dismiss him without a council. This was not to the liking of the other ministers, as it was an unusual proceeding, and they called upon their churches to withhold fellowship from the Bolton church. The members of that church determined to find out whether their excommunication was effectual,

and six of them went to Sterling on a certain Sunday and presented themselves at communion. Thereupon the pastor, Rev. John Mellen, refused to go on with the communion service unless they withdrew; but the church voted that the brethren should remain. The pastor then exerted what was called the right of "eldership," or veto. He annulled the vote of the church and refused to go on with the communion. This veto power was often exerted by the ministers; in some cases at an even later date.

There was a Presbyterian church organized in Oakham as early as 1767. It is said that at the time of its organization much objection was made to the character and habits of most of the proposed members. Things were at a standstill, till a Scotchman exclaimed, "Weel, if the Laard wants a church in Oakham, he must take them such as they be." The church lived, though with difficulty, for sixteen years. In the Orthodox church of that town there arose a controversy as to whether they would settle a pastor who would not baptize the children of those who were not members of the church. The same question troubled other churches.

But while throughout the closing years of the eighteenth century most of the ministers and church members continued to hold to the theology of Jonathan Edwards, Unitarianism gained ground among the people. There were also many little societies of Baptists, Methodists and Universalists.

When the constitution of Massachusetts was adopted in 1780, it provided that towns should make suitable provision at their own expense for the public worship of God, and the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. But the constitution also provided that if any person paid his money to the support of public worship, he might have his money applied "to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religion, sect or denomination."

Therefore it was the custom for Baptists or Methodists to give notice to the town authorities that they were regular attendants at one of such churches or societies,

and that they desired their ministerial tax set off to that society; and such requests grew more and more frequent every year.*

The town parishes were still strong, but their foundations were crumbling; for not only were they being weakened by the inroads of these new religious societies, which would once have been summarily suppressed, but there was a general tendency to dissolution. There were three parties in the town parishes. First, the Calvinists, who were the supporters of the theology of Jonathan Edwards. Second, the Arminians, or Unitarians, who held different doctrines as to regeneration and the Trinity. Third, those who cared nothing for theology and little for religion, but who were obliged to pay their ministerial tax. The majority of the members of the church in most places were Calvinists.

Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the nineteenth century with reference to Massachusetts town parishes. The ministers were, in general, striving to strengthen the church creeds and covenants, and were preaching good sound Calvinistic doctrine. Under the circumstances it is not strange that in so many of the towns a majority of the voters did not like the preaching of such strong religious doctrine; or, if the preaching was not of a sound, orthodox nature, a majority of the church members were dissatisfied. So it came to pass that one after another the churches and parishes divided. Usually a majority of the church went off and formed a new society.

*As a sample of the notification given to the town authorities, we insert the following:

ASHBURNHAM NOVEMBER THE 21^d 1796

We the Subscribers do hereby Certify to all inquirers that Samuel Gibson of Fitchburg hath been a member of the Baptist Church in Ashburnham upwards of Twelve years and that he hath contributed yearly to the Support of the Publick Teachers of our Denomination

OLIVER STONE
WILLARD LANE

FITCHBURG DECEMBER 17th 1799

Recd of Ebenr Thurston Town Treasurer ten Dollars & seventy-five cents in full of my minister Tax for the years 1796 & 1797

SAMUEL GIBSON

This was going on through the first quarter of the century. The election of Rev. Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard college in 1805, which was regarded as a victory for the Unitarians, precipitated this secession movement.

Legal questions arose where these divisions occurred, as to the ownership of property which had been given to the church, and also as to the church records. The point at issue was, whether the remaining or the seceding body was the church, in cases where the latter was a majority of the members.

The case of *Baker et al. vs. Fales*, (Town of Dedham), was argued before the supreme court at its October term, 1820. Daniel Webster was counsel for the church. But the court decided against him. The title in the Massachusetts Reports reads as follows:

"Where a majority of the members of a Congregational church separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto."

"Probably," said the court, "there was at first [that is, in the very early history of the New England churches,] no very familiar distinction between the church and the whole assembly of Christians in the town. We have no evidence that the inhabitants were divided into two bodies, of church, and society or parish, keeping separate records and having separate interests, but if the fact be otherwise than is supposed, there is no doubt that most of the inhabitants of the town were church members at that time. * * * * * It is not till 1641 that we find any legislative recognition of the right and power of churches to elect ministers. Before that period, without doubt, the whole assembly were considered the church, or so great a portion of it, that no necessity of any regulation could exist. But in that year the right to gather churches under certain restrictions was established, and the power of electing church officers, comprehending without doubt ministers, was vested in the church. How the ministers before that time were supported does not appear, but it is probable by voluntary contribution, for it does not appear that any legal obligation was created before the year 1652.

"In 1658 it was provided that no person should preach publicly and constantly to any company of people, whether in church, society, or not, where two organic churches, council of state or general court, shall declare their dissatisfaction, either in reference to doctrine or practice, and in case of ordination of any teaching elder, timely notice thereof was to be given to three or four of the neighboring organic churches, for their approbation. This, probably, was the origin of councils.

"An act was passed by the Legislature about 1670, vesting the appointment of ministers in the inhabitants of the town. By this act the power of the churches, as a distinct body, to choose the ministers seems to have been entirely taken away. But another statute was passed not long after, practically annulling this, giving the churches the right to elect, but the parish must concur."

But the court goes on to say:

"That the parish have the constitutional right here contended for cannot be questioned by those who will peruse the clause of the third article of the Declaration of Rights, upon which the claim is asserted. It is there provided 'that the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies, politic or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. All pre-existing laws or usages must bow before the fundamental expression of the public will, and however convenient or useful it might be to continue the old form of electing or settling a minister, whenever a parish determines to assert its constitutional authority there is no power in the state to oppose their claim.'"

As regards the vital question, whether a seceding body could still be the original church, the court said:

"But as to all civil purposes the secession of a whole church from the parish would be an extinction of the church, and it is competent to the members of the parish to institute a new church, or to engraft one upon the old stock, if any of it should remain, and this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old in the relation to the parish. No particular number is necessary to constitute a church. * * * * * The only circumstance, therefore, which gives a church any legal character is its connection with some regularly constituted society, and those who withdraw from the society cease to be members of that particular church, and the remaining members continue to be the identical church."

A passage from the history of the Shepard Congregational church of Cambridge, of which the Rev. Dr. McKenzie is now pastor, shows the result in one case of this decision. It seems that this church was founded and built up by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, after the exodus from Cambridge, under the leadership of Rev. Mr. Hooker, of so many of the people to Hartford, Conn. In course of time, as in so many other churches, a diversity of opinion grew up which led finally to a separation, and almost the entire church withdrew in 1830. In their hands was a large amount of personal property, which consisted of a valuable communion service, purchased by church funds

or by the gift of individual friends, and also a fund of about \$4000, which had been raised by contributions at the communion. Under the decision of the court the old society claimed and obtained this plate and the money. While smarting under what seemed to them a great injustice, chance threw in their way a manuscript autobiography of the reverend and esteemed Thomas Shepard, their first minister. Immediately a plan was formed to obtain a communion service by the publication and sale of this valuable manuscript, and the plan was crowned with success. The Rev. Nehemiah Adams, pastor of the church at this time, wrote the preface or "Advertisement," as it is called. In it he says:

"It requires no effort of the imagination to conceive of the feelings of Thomas Shepard were he permitted to see how that being dead, he yet spake to us. We were therefore consoled in a measure for the spoiling of our goods, knowing that we are surrounded by such great witnesses, and in the belief that an exception, filed by him at the Great Tribunal to the treatment of his and other churches, will come up for a hearing at the great and final day."

The Rev. Mr. Shepard's autobiography is an exceedingly interesting and valuable little book. The sincerity and plain speaking of the writer impresses itself deeply on the reader, and it throws much light on the social and religious condition of the times, both in Old England and New England. Especially remarkable is his implicit belief in the watchful care of a Divine Providence, making him to see in every event of his life the hand of God, bestowing upon him love and favor or just rebuke and punishment. He writes as follows of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard college: "A man pious, painfull and fit to teach and very fit to lay the foundations of the domesticall affairs of the Colledge; whom God has much honored and blessed." This is interesting in view of the fact that Mr. Dunster was soon after dismissed from office on account of his religious opinions.

The history of the church in Fitchburg during this period of controversy between Calvinism and Unitarianism was of considerable importance, for it was among the first to go through with what became the common experience, and its proceedings, which took place before

any decision of the court, were the occasion of bringing into prominence differences of feeling and of principle which proved to be irreconcilable, and they also firmly established the rules and methods of ecclesiastical procedure. The Rev. Alfred Emerson spoke of this contest between the church and the parish as the Gettysburg of Congregationalism, and an eminent clergyman of the time characterized it as "the great crisis in the history of the Congregational churches, beyond anything since they were planted on these shores." The various councils were participated in by churches beyond the borders of Fitchburg, and its interest and effects were certainly felt throughout the state.

There were no articles of faith in the first church in Fitchburg, and the half-way covenant was in use for membership, and even this was very loosely administered, so that it was very easy for any one of good character to obtain full church membership. At the close of the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Payson, the theological tenets and spirituality of many of those whose names were on the church rolls were vague and weak. The long controversy over the location of the new church building was going on while the health of the pastor was failing, and they were without a pastor for two years previous to the completion of the new meeting house. Under these circumstances it is likely that the spiritual condition of the church was at a very low ebb.

Two ministers who were invited to succeed Rev. Mr. Payson declined, and the Rev. Mr. Noyes, whom the church voted to "call," was not acceptable to the town. Then it was that the Rev. Samuel Worcester, who was proposed by the town by a vote of 43 to 24, was accepted by the church, and he was ordained in September, 1797, eight months after the dedication of the new church building. The new minister was a faithful, earnest Calvinist, and one of his first acts was to secure the adoption of articles of faith and a new covenant, by the church; but it was provided that these new articles of faith should not apply to those already members of the church. This action was soon followed by a revival of religion.

This revival increased the zeal and activity, as well as the number, of the members of the church. They followed the leadership of their minister; they wished to retain him. The parish, (or town,) however, was not satisfied, and wished him to go. In 1801 he was willing to leave, but claimed the right (with the church) of appointing the council. The town claimed a right to share in the appointment of that body. Mutual and *ex parte* councils were called, all resulting in a recommendation that Mr. Worcester remain. Finally the town voted him dismissed, and the doors of the church were closed, to be opened only by order of the selectmen. This did not settle the matter, for the church claimed that he was not properly dismissed, and Mr. Worcester received his salary until he was regularly dismissed by a mutual council in June, 1802.

Much bitter and lasting personal feeling had been engendered by the events of the last two years, and it was not to be allayed. The friends of Mr. Worcester were called Hopkinsians, and they constituted a large majority of the church. The number of voters in the town was one hundred and thirty-one, of whom fifty-seven were Hopkinsian, but they were outnumbered by the other party and they determined to withdraw. In March, 1804, they protested to the town against further taxation for religious purposes. In the same month a committee of the town made a report recommending the settlement of Rev. Elisha Clapp, but proposing that if after settlement there should be a wish to dismiss him, it should require the votes of two-thirds of the voters; but, after four years, it should only require a majority. "To prevent misunderstanding the church shall not be regarded as in any manner distinct from the town."

The seceding members regarded themselves as the First Church, and apparently maintained that contention for nine years, or until they reunited with the First Parish. In 1805 they succeeded in obtaining an act of incorporation which specifically mentioned them as "the church lately under the care of the Rev. Samuel Worcester." This act was not obtained without opposition, and a written protest from the town, November 5, 1804, in which it was



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stated that the valuation of those who applied for the act was \$1579, while the valuation of those who remained was \$4263. Later the town seems to have consented to the incorporation. The act reads as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE A NUMBER OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE TOWN OF FITCHBURG, IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, INTO A RELIGIOUS SOCIETY BY THE NAME OF THE CALVINISTIC CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY OF FITCHBURG.

Whereas, The Congregational Church in Fitchburg, lately under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, now under that of the Rev. Titus T. Barton, together with those who meet with said church for the worship of God have petitioned this Court to be incorporated into a distinct religious society for the reasons expressed in their petition, and it appearing reasonable to this Court that the prayer thereof be granted.

SECTION 1. Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same that the church aforesaid and such inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg as meet with them for the worship of God, with their polls and estates, be and hereby are incorporated into a Society by the name of the Calvinistic Congregational Society in Fitchburg, with all the powers, privileges and immunities which other religious Societies in this Commonwealth are entitled to by law, they paying the taxes that have already been assessed upon them for the support of public worship.

SECTION 2. Be it further enacted that any of the inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg who may desire to join said society shall have full liberty thus to do at any time previous to the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and six, provided they signify in writing under their hand, to the clerk of said society, their wish and determination of being considered as members of said society and they shall accordingly be recorded as such by the clerk of the said society, and any member of the said society shall have the right to leave the same at any time before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and six by leaving a written determination with the clerk of said society, whose duty it shall be to record the same, and such member shall thence afterward be considered a member of the society to which he originally belonged.

SECTION 3. Be it further enacted that if any person who may hereafter settle within the limits of said Town shall be desirous to join the society aforesaid he shall have full liberty to do it at any time within twelve months from his settlement in the Town by signifying his determination of the same in the manner pointed out in the second section of this act.

SECTION 4. Be it further enacted that all young persons within the limits of the Town aforesaid when they become twenty-one years of age shall have full liberty at any time within twelve months after they become twenty-one years of age to join with their polls and estates either of the said societies by signifying their determination in writing to the clerk of the society they may desire to join.

SECTION 5. Be it further enacted that Joseph Fox, Esquire, or any other justice of the peace in the county of Worcester be and he is hereby authorized to issue his Warrant directed to some member of the said Calvinistic Congregational Society requesting him to warn the members of the said society qualified to vote in parish affairs to assemble at some convenient and suitable time and place as shall be expressed in said warrant, to choose such officers as parishes are by law required to choose in the month of March or April annually, and to transact all other matters and things necessary to the well being of the said Society.

In the House of Representatives, June 13th, 1805. This Bill having had three several readings passed to be enacted.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Speaker.

In Senate, June 14th, 1805. This Bill having had two several readings passed to be enacted.

H. G. OTIS, President.

June 14th, 1805.

By the Governor approved.

CALEB STRONG.

A true copy: Attest

JOHN AVORY, Secretary.

This practically dissolved the relations between church and state, so far as Fitchburg was concerned, for those who refused to identify themselves with the Calvinistic Society met August 26, 1805, organized under the name of the First Parish, chose parish officers and began a parish book of records. From that time parish affairs were not considered in town meeting. For nine years these two societies were in existence, when they again united, mainly through the influence of Rev. William Bascom, the pastor of the First Parish, or Unitarian Society. The act incorporating the Calvinistic Congregational Society of Fitchburg was repealed by an act of the Legislature February 3, 1814, and the said Society was joined with the First Parish. This state of affairs continued till 1823, when a final separation took place, and another Calvinistic Congregational Society was organized October 31, 1823, which purchased the meeting house of the former society, corner of Main and Rollstone streets, which it occupied and on which location it has since remained.

This seceding church, as before, comprised nearly all the church members and they took with them that portion of the church records and other personal property which had been in their possession previous to the reunion in 1814. This property and the records were, however, given up, on demand of the First Parish, notwithstanding legal advice that the same could be retained, on the ground of a vote passed at a church meeting just previous to separation, as follows:

"Voted, unanimously, that those vessels and records which formerly belonged to the church under the care of the Rev. Wm. Bascom shall be left for the use of those who may wish to remain with the First Parish, and the remainder to be taken for the use of those who unite with the C. C. Society."

As we have before stated, this separation of the two societies was final, and the practical separation of parish and town affairs was accomplished, as, indeed, it really had been in Fitchburg since 1805. As in Fitchburg, so throughout the state, for the division of the inhabitants of a town into two nearly equal societies made it necessary that parish affairs should be kept out of town meeting.

When the eleventh amendment to the state constitution was adopted in 1833, legally dissolving the relation of church and state, that relation was already dissolved.

We have thus, in an inadequate manner, sketched the history of the union and dissolution of church and state in Massachusetts. At first the church was the state, and its authority was supreme, but in process of time the state assumed authority over the church and the church rebelled. The church of the Puritans and the theology of the Puritans persisted, but the descendants of the Puritans again became Separatists, even as their forefathers two centuries before. In these later separations of the nineteenth century the legitimate successors of the early churches generally left a minority in possession and, though they set up their abodes in other places they were, ecclesiastically speaking, still the First Churches and in the line of ecclesiastical succession from the churches of the fathers. Notwithstanding this, by virtue of a decision of the Su-

preme Court, they were not legally the original churches, but became new churches joined to new parishes. Religious societies were formed under state laws, to take the place of the old town parishes, and practically the same relation exists to-day between church and parish, as did formerly between church and state.

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY OF THE CALVINISTIC CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Read at a meeting of the Society, December 16, 1901.

BY GEORGE A. HITCHCOCK.

In the paper entitled "Separation of Church and State" already presented by Mr. Bailey, may be found a very able and the legitimate introduction to this historical account of one of the dominant forces which have made our city a beneficent power in the Commonwealth; and we trust the purpose suggested by our president to have those of our different churches presented, may be fulfilled.

The doctrine of regeneration, or the second birth, is one of the vital tenets of the Calvinistic faith. In harmony with this tenet the Calvinistic Congregational church is singularly furnished with two birthdays. The official organ of the denomination, the Congregational Year Book, gives the date 1768, while our local authorities give it as 1823.

Of the first date it may be said that the claim as presented by Rev. Alfred Emerson in his centenary address in 1868, is generally held as the correct one, by those who have taken the pains to investigate; while the record of the first permanent organization furnishes the date of October 31, 1823.

The record of the First Church of Fitchburg, organized January 7, 1768, and of its struggles during the following quarter of a century is part of the oft-written history of the town, and its recital is not necessary here. The writer is inclined to take neither of these dates, but one midway between them, as the natural and legitimate one.

Just one hundred years ago next summer, August 29, 1802, Rev. Samuel Worcester preached his farewell sermon to a very large congregation of the old church. This date marks most significantly the final dissolution of church

and state, in our town at least. His subsequent career furnishes us with a clear understanding of the character of the man who did much in moulding the Calvinistic church, and he may very appropriately be considered its godfather. A few words at this point concerning him may not be out of place. About the time of his dismissal a messenger from Salem came to Fitchburg. As he rode into town he met a man of good appearance whom he stopped for inquiries. "Do you know Mr. Worcester, sir? We want a minister for the Tabernacle in Salem. How would he do for us?" "Why," said the respondent, "I don't like the doctrine of Mr. Worcester, but he is a man of talents, a good scholar and a gentleman. If you like his doctrine you will like him—but I DON'T." The answer was all that was desired and he made the fame of the Tabernacle church of Salem secure, as the Antioch of Foreign Missions.

While Samuel J. Mills was the originator of the movement which led to the formation of the American Board, Dr. Samuel Worcester was the founder of the Board itself. It was on the old road from Andover to Bradford that he first suggested the plan to Dr. Spring of Newburyport, and these two adopted the idea and rested not until it was carried out. The memory of this great service of Dr. Worcester to the church and to missions should be kept green. No finer tribute has been paid to him than this from a leader of that denomination whose tenets he so strenuously withstood, Dr. A. P. Peabody. He says: "Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, a pioneer in the cause, whose prescient mind saw in its very inception its destined triumph, and whose plastic and organizing ability was second to no agency in its early success and rapid growth. Though a keen controversialist he was pre-eminently a man of beatitudes, uniting with the hardest features of character a strenuous purpose and indomitable will—all the amenities of a Christian gentleman."

Following his departure in 1802 a considerable body withdrew from the new meeting house and continued Sabbath-day services in the "Farwell house" on West Main street, with Rev. Titus T. Barton as pastor. During this time, in 1805, an act was passed "to incorporate

a number of the inhabitants of the town of Fitchburg in the county of Worcester into a religious Society in Fitchburg by the name of the Calvinistic Congregational Church in Fitchburg," as the following preamble indicates.

"Whereas the Congregational Church in Fitchburg, together with those who meet with said church for the worship of God, have petitioned this Court to be incorporated into a distinct religious society for the reason expressed in their petition, and it appearing reasonable to this Court that the prayer thereof be granted.

* * * * *

June 14, 1805.

By the Governor approved.

CALEB STRONG.

"This may certify that we the subscribers, being inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg, wish to belong to the religious Society in said Town about to be incorporated by the name of the Calvinistic Congregational Society."

This was the legal christening of the infant church, so that we may consider the following eighteen or twenty years' experience of the life of the two branches interwoven—sometimes together, sometimes apart—like a pair of twins, children of the same parent stock; inclined as healthy boys usually are, to have their quarrels, but growing into maturity side by side, united in the grand purpose to furnish divine ideals to the community.

Concerning the name "Calvinistic," which has given occasion for heated discussion from time to time in later years, it may be said that the founders of the church had no intention of affixing this name upon it in the same sense that metropolitan churches are now named, neither did they necessarily claim to bind it to the doctrines of John Calvin to the exclusion of other divines of equal worth and ability. It was the common name of all the churches in this neighborhood—the Calvinistic church of Westminster, of Leominster and elsewhere, by which they were distinguished from those from which they had separated. In the case of these churches, necessity did not require the retention of any distinguishing name, while here in the rapidly growing town, with various churches of different orders springing up all around it, the name became a fixture—very properly so, because it was so incorporated. It would be well for the present generation

to consider this very just estimate which Fiske, the historian, has given. He says:

"Perhaps not one of the mediæval popes was more despotic in temper than Calvin, but it is not the less true that the promulgation of his theology was one of the longest steps that mankind have taken toward personal freedom. Calvinism left the individual man alone in the presence of his God. His salvation could not be wrought out by priestly ritual, but only by the grace of God abounding in the soul. In engraving it upon men's minds with that keen-edged logic which he used with such unrivalled skill, Calvin made them feel, as it had perhaps never been felt before, the dignity and importance of the human soul. In a church, moreover, based upon such a theology there was no room for prelacy. Each single church tended to become an independent congregation of worshippers, constituting one of the most effective schools that has ever existed for training men in local self-government."

It is unnecessary for us to endorse all the stern features of his doctrines which was begotten by those strenuous times, but taking this broader view of the impress he made upon the Congregational polity of the New England churches, a defence of or an apology for the name Calvinistic is hardly necessary. The abbreviated title by which the church is now designated—C. C. church—is a most convenient cloak under which is hidden past ecclesiastic disputes. Even inquisitive youth sometimes imagine it has some reference to the traditional noon-hour lunch of Crackers and Cheese, which our grandfathers enjoyed under the old horse-shed, now gone forever. The first record in the books of the C. C. church is self-explanatory, and is as follows:

"The Deacons of all the several churches not being episcopal churches, being by an act of the commonwealth passed the 20th of February 1786 constituted so far bodies corporate as to take in succession all grants and donations made to their several churches, and to sue and Defend in all actions touching the same And there having been made to the Church of Christ in Fitchburg of which we the Subscribers are the Deacons, Donations to the amount of nearly six thousand of Dollars in money by Sundry well-Disposed persons who request that the sums they gave should always be kept at interest and the interest applied to the support of the Pastor of the church while time shall last. We the Deacons of the aforesaid church met on the 16th of May 1805 to transact business relative to our legal trust and the better to carry into effect the desires of the liberal donors to the church and to promote the interest of the church which is thus done according to the act of the Legislature above mentioned."

[The latter part of the record is the usual form of act of organization].

"Signed

KENDALL BOUTEL	}	<i>Deacons of the above named Church.</i>
DANIEL PUTNAM		
EBENEZER THURSTON		
JOHN THURSTON JR		

"Voted and chose John Thurston Jr Cleark. Ebenezer Thurston Treasurer"

The list of donors, which may properly be called the founders of the C. C. church, is herewith appended,* but for sake of brevity the writer will only say that among this list are found six Thurstons, five Eatons, five Lowes, three Boutells, three Messengers, three Downes, three Farwells, two Kinsmans and one each of the following names: Damon, Pool, Putnam, Pratt, Upton, Lawrence, Simonds, Hutchinson, Whiting, Perkins, Phillips, Kimball, Parker, Allen, Brown, Daniels, Goodridge, Hall, Barton, Fuller, Houghton and Wheeler.

These donations were committed to the deacons, the legal trustees of the property of the church, who immediately loaned the same back to the same parties, taking securities for the same. This was done, be it remembered, because there were no savings banks or loan societies in existence here at that time.

* FIFTY-FOUR FOUNDERS OF CALVINISTIC CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Timothy Damon	Simeon Farwell	John Messinger
Thomas Eaton	Phineas Allen	Widow Mary Lowe
Rev. Titus T. Barton	Verin Daniels	Widow Abigail Lowe
Ebenezer Thurston	Asaph Goodridge	Palmedus Perkins
Aaron Eaton	Elias Messenger	Ephraim Kimball
Amos Lawrence	John Farwell	Benjamin Parker
Stephen Thurston	Moses Hall	Jonathan Lowe
Joseph Simonds	Aaron Houghton	Benjamin Parker, Jr.
Thomas Thurston, Jr.	Timothy F. Downe	Kendall Boutell
Calvin Messenger	Thomas Thurston	Joel Eaton
Ebenezer Hutchinson	James Pool	Phineas Brown
Bethany Whiting	Daniel Putnam	Thomas Eaton, Jr.
Thomas Eaton, 3d.	John Pratt, Jr.	Jeremiah Kinsman
Seth Phillips	John Upton	Isaac P. Lowe
Joseph Downe	Nathaniel Boughtell	John Thurston, Jr.
Kendall Boutell, Jr.	Jonathan Lowe, Jr.	Amos Wheeler
John Farwell, Jr.	John Thurston	Nehemiah Fuller
Asaph Boutell	Jeremiah Kinsman, Jr.	Joseph Downe, Jr.

Concerning this first "temple of sacred worship," we quote from a very interesting paper written by Mrs. David B. Silsby in 1895, which was read on the occasion of the last service in the second meeting house before its demolition.

"This edifice was by no means beautiful, neither was it comfortable for young and old. Our great grandfathers never saw the dimensions of the purse carried at the present day and doubtless their church looked as beautiful to them as we anticipate ours will be. The entrance to their church was from Main street by long steps made of wood. The pews had very high backs with long seats fastened to them with hinges. At each end of these seats was a short one for the children. In front was a chair which served a convenient place for men's and boys' hats. During the Sabbath school this chair was occupied by the teacher. This certainly was a very comfortable arrangement for the teacher, but for the children on the high-backed seats, the spinal column must have been straightened rather more than nature intended.

"It was the custom of the congregation to rise during prayer. In that case all the long seats were raised in order to give more room to those standing. The desk in the pulpit was so high that a number of blocks were provided for the convenience of the minister who should happen to be so unfortunate as to be unable to reach the top of the desk. One very short man found it needful to use all the blocks on one occasion. He was repeating the text, 'A little while and ye shall see me and again a little while and ye shall not see me,' when for some reason, the foundation he had built gave way, and suddenly they did not see him."

Stringed instruments for the singers' accompaniment, and foot-stoves for the comfort of the mothers in Israel; these, by reason of their constant need of replenishing, were a source of vexation to the janitor, whose stove was unceasingly robbed of coals and floors littered with ashes. The janitor at that time was Stephen Dole, the grandfather of the present one, Thomas R. B. Dole.

Mr. Barton was dismissed in February, 1813, and the First Parish made overtures for a reunion of the two societies, which were accepted the latter part of that year. Mr. Bascom, the pastor of the First Parish, was dismissed about this time, and for more than a year there was no settled pastor, but in August, 1815, Rev. William Eaton accepted a call and preached until June 30, 1823, when he was dismissed at his own request. This truce between the two wings was finally broken Oct. 31, 1823,

a truce which was made, doubtless, by financial stress, for a self-supporting church was at this time an untried experiment, and the task must have seemed a stupendous one.

It was during this decade that Asa Thurston was educated and embarked as one of the pioneer missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. A son of Thomas Thurston, one of the founders of the C. C. church, he was born October 12, 1787, graduated from Yale College in 1816, from Andover Seminary in 1819, and sailed from Boston with others, who formed the first band of missionaries sent to the Sandwich Islands, October 23, 1819. After a voyage of over five months he reached his destination March 31, 1820, to find the inhabitants in greater depths of heathenism than those other pilgrims found, who sailed into Massachusetts Bay two hundred years before. For more than forty years he remained at his post, never again revisiting his native land.

The first record of the C. C. church after its final separation from the First Parish is interesting history.

"FRIDAY, OCT. 31, 1823. The church assembled agreeably to notice given the preceding Sabbath. Brother Abel Thurston signified his acceptance of the office of Deacon, to which he had been chosen at a previous meeting.

"The particular object of this meeting was then stated by the moderator and after much consultation and deliberation on the subject it was moved and seconded that this Church remove its connection from the First Parish and unite with the Congregational Society (formed this day) in the town of Fitchburg.

"The above motion being put by the moderator, twenty out of twenty-five voted in the affirmative. Those who did not vote in the affirmative were then Severally enquired of their reasons for not voting; to which different answers were given. They were then particularly requested to state whether they wished the church to delay or adjourn on their account and each for himself stated that he did not. The idea was then suggested that a part of the church would choose to remain with the First Parish. In that case, an adjustment of the concerns of the church relative to the furniture and records which they now hold in Common would be very desirable that no unhappy differences might hereafter arise.

"Voted *unanimously* that those vessels and records which formerly belonged to the church under the care of Rev. William Bascom shall be left for the use of those who may wish to remain with the First Par-

ish and the remainder be taken for the use of those who unite with the C. C. Society.

Attest

WALTER JOHNSON, Ch. Clerk."

These church records kept by Walter Johnson, its first clerk, were written in a remarkably distinct and beautiful penmanship.

Three weeks later Rev. Rufus A. Putnam was called as pastor and was ordained February 4th, 1824. He remained seven years, officiating at communion for the last time April 24, 1831.

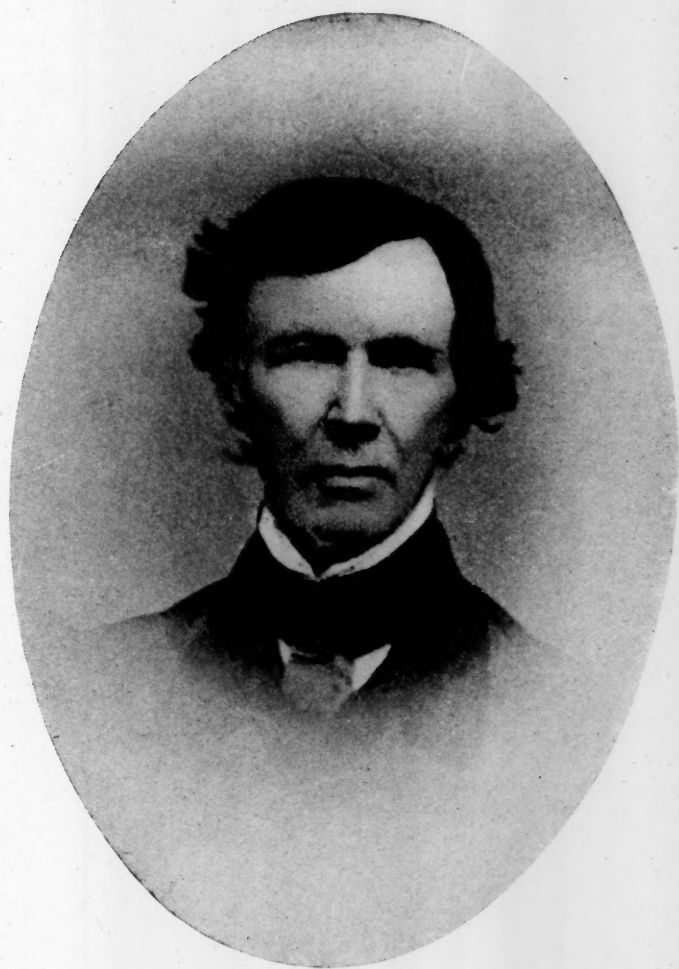
He was a man of very lovable character and deep piety, and only the inability of the society to pay an adequate salary appears to be the cause of his departure. In 1864 he was living in Pembroke, N. H., where he responded to an invitation from the centennial committee of the town to be present at its celebration.

March 19, 1824, hardly a month after the settlement of Mr. Putnam, a committee was chosen "to take into consideration the subject respecting the establishing of a Bible Class and Sabbath School;" which found fruition a year later, and on March 28, 1825, the school was established, with Jonathan Thurston as superintendent, four assistants and twenty-seven teachers.

The constitution provided that it should be called The Sunday School Society of Fitchburg, and that the school should begin on the second Sunday in May and close on the second Sunday in October. The first Sunday school which our oldest citizens remember in Fitchburg was held in a school house at the corner of Blossom and Crescent streets, about 1816, when on Sunday mornings a few children would gather and recite verses from the Bible.

This C. C. Sunday school, however, which was established in 1825, has continued uninterrupted until the present time, always in a flourishing condition, to furnish the greatest single factor in the Christian life of the church, as well as contributing almost continuously for the support of students, either in foreign mission schools and colleges, or in colored schools of the South, and in planting new schools in the West.

The first assistant in this school was Abel Thurston, and soon succeeding Jonathan Thurston, he held the office



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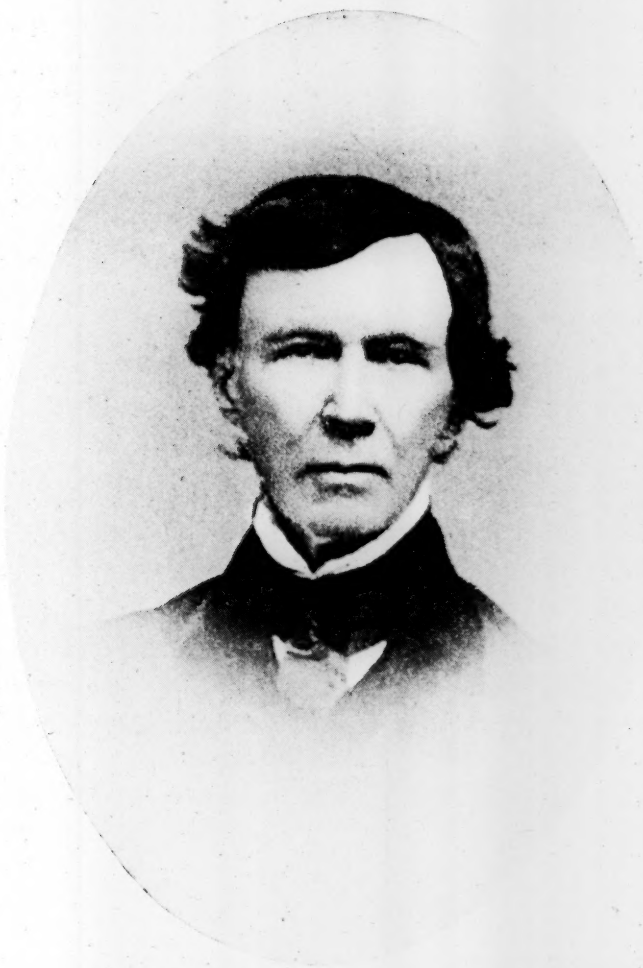
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REV. RUFUS A. PUTNAM.



of superintendent nearly forty years, until the day of his death.

The following persons have served as superintendent in order of succession:

Jonathan Thurston,	Albert C. Brown,	Edwin A. Harris,
Abel Thurston,	Samuel Whitney,	Eli A. Hubbard,
John M. Harris,	Alvin M. Sawyer,	Henry F. Coggshall,
Henry F. Coggshall,	Edward M. Rockwell,	David B. Silsby,
Charles Partridge,	Clarence M. Converse,	Albert C. Brown.
Henry M. Francis,	George A. Hitchcock,	

The controversy between the two parishes which rent many New England churches during these years found expression here on account of the division of the church furniture and records. After sundry meetings, seeking advice of ecclesiastic council and employment of legal advice, the C. C. society yielded all, and a committee consisting of Joseph Richardson, Abel Thurston, Jonathan Thurston, Walter Johnson and Abel Downe was chosen to collect and deliver the aforesaid property, which they did immediately after the close of this meeting, taking a receipt therefor. One month later Dea. Thurston presented a communication to the C. C. church from Nathan Ordway, signed by him as clerk of the First Parish, making a *gift* of certain records and furniture to the C. C. church, and at a meeting held November 5, 1824, it was voted "that the further consideration of this communication be indefinitely postponed."

On the 31st day of March, 1826, one month before the birth of the American Home Missionary Society, the church established its first missionary organization, known as the "Auxiliary Tract Society of Fitchburg," "for the purpose of promoting the circulation of moral and religious Tracts in this vicinity and of aiding the American Tract Society in the extensive distribution of Tracts through the most destitute parts of the United States and of the Continent of America."

In these days of surfeit in literature, both religious and secular, it is difficult to realize what hunger there was for just such reading as this society was able to put into the secluded homes of America by means of the Christian colporteur, who was as truly a missionary as any who crossed oceans; and it was fallow ground which later filled our

colleges with material for missionary work the world around.

At the close of this meeting Walter Johnson resigned the office of church clerk, and Alpheus Kimball was chosen to the office; a man who was prominently identified in town affairs, whose sons have since become actively identified in affairs of town, city, state and nation. His home was on West Main street where now stands the Dea. Wheeler house, and it was here that the meetings and business were held until the first chapel was built. Thereafter for sixteen years we find his name appended to every record of the very active life of the C. C. church.

On January 4, 1827, the first steps were taken to organize a Department for Home Charities for the purpose of relieving the "temporal wants of their brethren and sisters who may be reduced to poverty." And this organization has been continued uninterruptedly to the present time.

The grand total of gifts by these and kindred societies since organized in the church amounts to more than \$150,000, exclusive of all church and parish expenses, and is an assurance of its divine union.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the various cases of discipline which burdened the books of these earlier years. The deep responsibility which the church felt for the actions of its members may be the key by which to understand its spiritual strength and virility, which we might profitably consider.

May 9, 1832, Rev. John A. Albro was settled as pastor. At this time the society's books show the names of one hundred and forty-nine persons who were taxed for its support. He came at a time when the harmony of the church was disturbed over the acrimonious controversy between two prominent members whose case had been before the church and had created a division in the church. A council called to advise in the matter closed its findings with these words: "The case is now resting entirely on them [the two offending members]; the question whether peace and harmony are to be restored and the candle of the Lord to shine here as in times past, or whether this

church is to be still distracted by division, and thus become like Admah and Zeboim, depends now upon the spirit in which this result is received." The quarrel was for the time-being suppressed but burst forth later and, as a result, Mr. Albro resigned the pastorate after only a short term of two years and eight months, settling over the Shepard Memorial Church of Cambridge, where he remained until his death in 1866.

He was a man of culture and considerable literary ability. During his first year with the church, 1832, a prosperous revival was the occasion of adding fifty members to its rolls (many of these names would be familiar if read), but only one of all this number is now living, and this is our beloved and honored Dea. Abram Dole, the oldest living member.*

The next pastor called was Rev. Joshua Emery, a recently graduated member of Andover Theological Seminary, who remained only two years, resigning on account of the long-standing contention.

It may seem like revealing the family skeleton to thus refer to these difficulties, but in the rebuke which the dismissing council gave the church, is discerned the first hint of the greatest upheaval which the century saw, and which a quarter of a century later burst forth in the great Civil War. The closing words of this rebuke were:

"Brethren, our heart's desire and prayer to God is, that you may be kept from the fearful desolations which have come over some of the fairest portions of Zion by the indulgence of party strife, and that you may be sometime united again in the resettlement of the gospel ministry and made joyful by the goings of our God in the midst of you."

In this hour of her humiliation the C. C. church turned her face toward the devout and peace-loving pastor, Rev. Rufus A. Putnam, desiring him to come back to guide, but this was not so to be, and after a whole year of waiting, the Rev. Ebenezer W. Bullard was called and ordained July 1, 1838.

Mr. Bullard was born in Sutton, Mass., educated in Amherst College and Miami University, Ohio, where he graduated in 1834, and from Lane Theological Seminary,

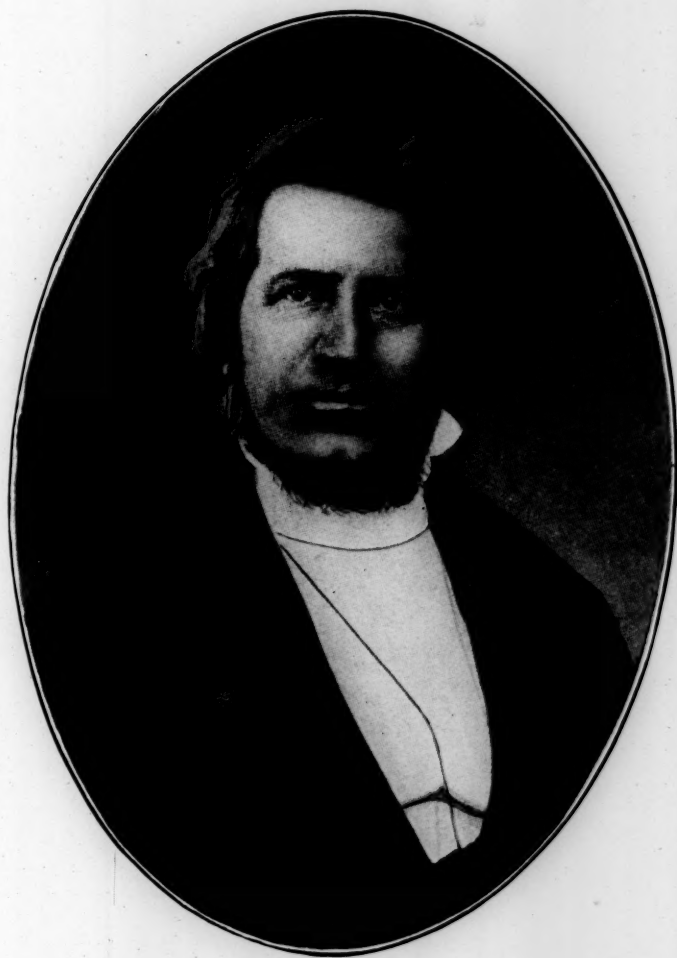
*Dea. Abram S. Dole died October 12, 1904, aged 84 years 8 months.

Ohio, in 1837. These facts may have had a bearing in the conflict, which began very early in his ministry, over the slavery question, and which soon resulted in a separation and formation of another church. Although of New England birth, his educational training at the age when opinions are permanently formed was on the Mason and Dixon line, where he doubtless was surrounded with those influences antagonistic to our positive New England opinions upon this question.

Mr. Bullard was a man of very attractive personality, a courtly gentleman, which graces won for him a large and earnest following, while his lukewarm attitude toward the anti-slavery movement created for him a stubborn opposition.

At the beginning of the year 1840 a church meeting was held where a determined effort was made under the leadership of Thomas Eaton, Alpheus Kimball and others, to place the church on record as in sympathy with the anti-slavery movement. This purpose was defeated by the plea that the church should not interfere in politics. This action was followed by several cases of disciplining those who absented themselves from communion because "the church did fellowship with slaveholders" and on account of the church's action at the aforesaid meeting. These persons were all excommunicated with two exceptions. Benjamin Snow, Jr., and wife, who had been active workers in church affairs, having requested letters of dismissal and recommendation to a church in Troy, N. Y., the action on these requests having been deferred, he sent the following statement to the church: "I have thought of asking a letter of recommendation to a church in Troy. I now wait the action of this church, as I am not sure that the church with which I wish to be connected would not consider an *excommunication* a better recommendation, knowing the circumstances." The church at once voted to comply with his request and issued the letters called for. If the feeling was so intense in one church over this question, what must it have been all over the land?

Two years later the church voted to rescind the non-interference act and chose the following committee to take



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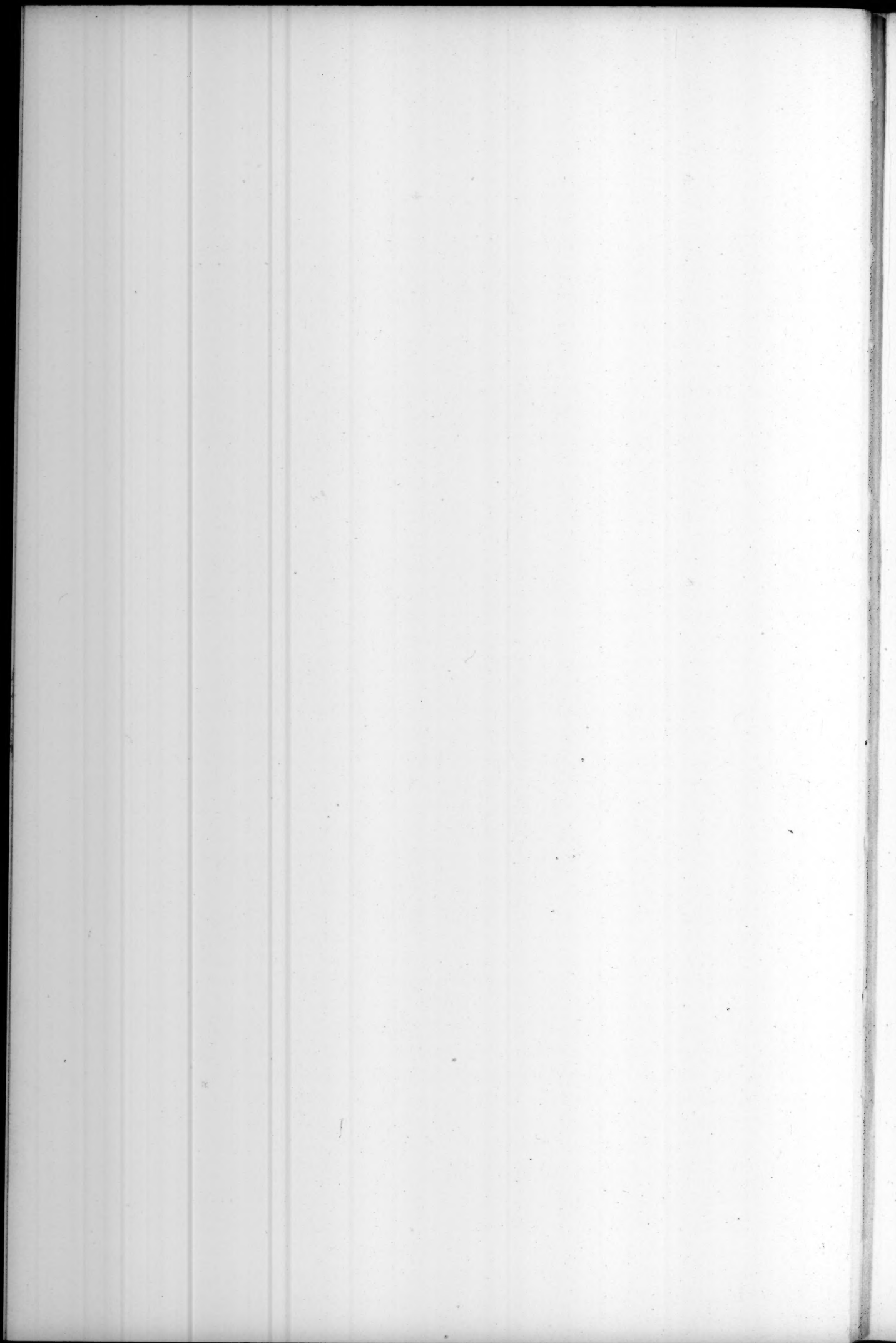
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the subject of slavery under consideration and report at a future meeting: Abel Thurston, Jacob H. Merriam, Daniel Lowe, Thomas Eaton and William Downe. The pastor was afterward added to the committee.

But this action had been taken too late, for on January 12, 1843, twenty-three heads of families presented a letter requesting dismissal from the church for the purpose of forming the Trinitarian church, which letter was granted.

It may be claimed that this secession of a considerable body of the church's most devoted members forced the church to take the pronounced stand which it immediately did. It may be allowed, and yet thereby the great under-current of thought and belief was crystallized, which her loyal sons of the present day are proud to record and recall her firm stand for liberty.

March 3, 1843. The pastor requested to be excused from acting with the committee, which reported as follows:

"The committee chosen to consider the subject of slavery, having received notice that the pastor declined serving on that committee and having proposed to our brethren who had absented from us on account of the slavery question; that if they were pleased to unite with us in preparing resolutions to be passed by the church we would resign and have a new committee appointed; and having been informed that they declined said proposal so long as the present pastor remains with us; have proceeded to prepare the following Preamble and Resolutions as expressing the views of this church on the subject of Slavery.

"While we deem it the duty of Christians at all times to oppose and denounce sin in whatever form it may appear, we feel called upon in a special manner as a church of Christ to raise our voice and exert our influence against any evil which by its magnitude or enormity may threaten any portion of our land, and particularly when such evil claims the sanction of Christianity itself

"Therefore Resolved.

"1st That the institution of slavery is an evil of great magnitude, alike cruel, unjust and oppressive to the slaves, and detrimental to the Master: conducive of unmixed evil to the country and an abominable sin against God, and as such, ought speedily to be abolished, and that as Christians we can in no way countenance or uphold it, but deem it our duty in all suitable ways to exert our influence and use our best endeavors to put an end to it in our land.

"2nd Resolved that we can have no connection with this unfruitful work of darkness and therefore we will not invite to our communion

table and that our pastor be requested not to invite to the desk any person who is guilty of the sin of slaveholding.

Signed

ABEL THURSTON

THOMAS EATON

WILLIAM DOWNE

DANIEL LOWE

JACOB H. MERRIAM

} "Committee"

This report was accepted and adopted without a dissenting vote, and the pastor requested to forward a copy of these to the offices of the *Boston Recorder* and *New England Puritan* for publication.

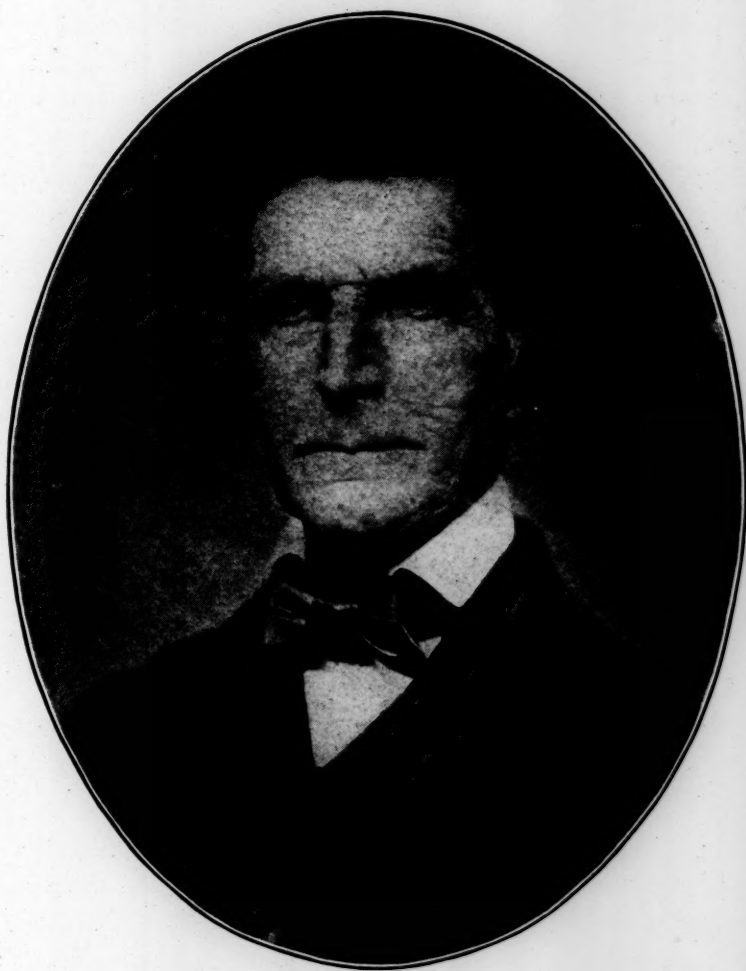
There has been a common impression upon the minds of many, that during these years and leading up to the time of the Civil War, the C. C. church was lukewarm, if not actually hostile, to the anti-slavery movement. Whatever may have been individual opinions at that time, the stand thus taken by the C. C. church was unmistakable, which twenty years later was sealed by the blood of many of her members and their children.

It is also significant that we are able to record the fact of another great ingathering, immediately following this action, whereby seventy-four names were added to the church rolls.

December 8, 1843, the church officially approved the action of the society in the undertaking to build a new church. The old church was at once sold and removed to the corner of Main and Laurel streets, where it was used for business purposes until the erection of the present Dickinson block.

The new house of worship was dedicated January 22, 1845, and the basement was utilized for business purposes, being known as Granite Row on account of the material used in its construction. By this union in the service of God and Mammon as well as by the accession of many strong financial helpers, the society prospered in a material way while the strong undercurrent of spiritual life held the church to the ideals which the fathers had aspired to.

Yet, as with the individual life, so with the church, which is no less the individual collective, the struggle of warring elements was felt during the following decade. The tension upon the all-absorbing slavery question was



DEA. ABEL THURSTON.

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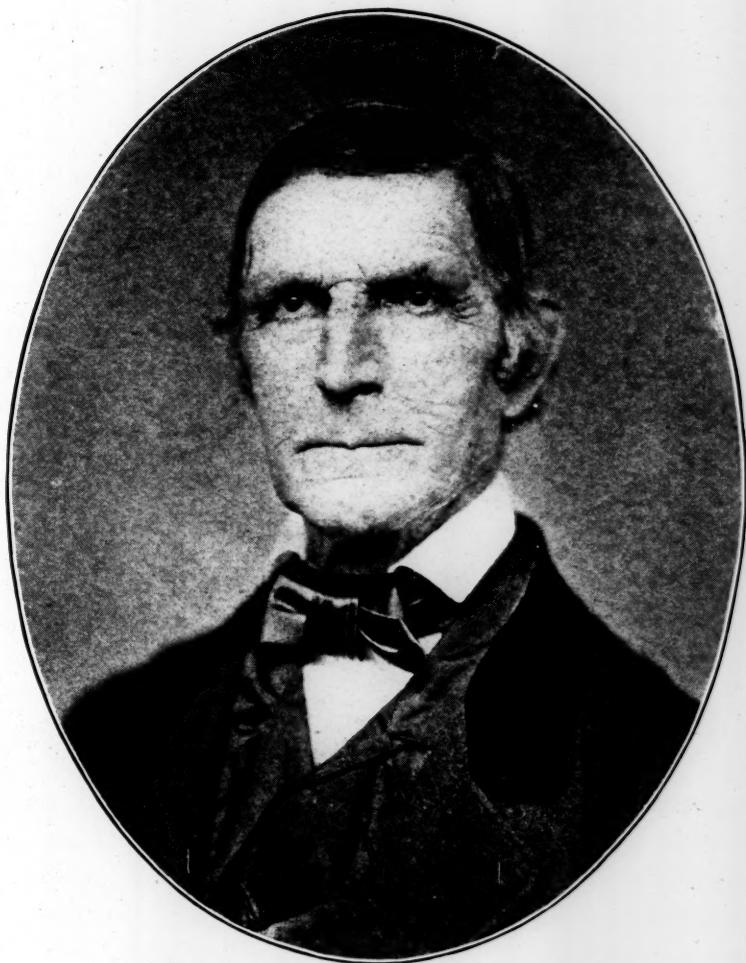
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DEA. ABEL THURSTON.

2

so great as to tax all the wisdom of the leaders of the church. It was during these days that Harriet Beecher Stowe was setting the nation aflame with her serial, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, gathering its opening scenes from her own home-locality around Lane Seminary, Ohio, whose president was her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher. It was during these days that Rev. Mr. Bullard's sister—the wife of Henry Ward Beecher—records the way by which her husband aroused the conscience of the nation when from Plymouth church pulpit, one Sabbath morning, he sold the slave girl into freedom, and by his ringing denunciation of the nation's crime. With such family connections the course of the C. C. pastor may seem incomprehensible, yet it only the more vividly illustrates the divine evolution of great questions of right and wrong.

On July 1st, 1852, the council which dismissed Mr. Bullard closed with these words: "The council would also fervently pray that God would overrule this important crisis through which the Church is now passing to the advancement of His own glory."

April 19, 1853, the church extended a call to Rev. G. Buckingham Wilcox, who accepted it and was installed June 15, 1853.

We have imperfectly completed a recital of some of the events of the first half century of the church's life. The latter half is so rich in results and events which are interwoven in the city's life as to deter one from making the attempt.

One department of church worship which has held prominent interest ever since Moses and his sister Miriam established the service of praise with the children of Israel in the wilderness, calls for brief mention—music. This fact is evidenced in connection with the C. C. church as we read the first item in the first treasurer's book:

"Dec 1824 Paid Walter Johnson for providing for singing and for money advanced to Rev Mr Putnam \$3⁶³." This is followed by entries of various amounts, paid to Amos Sheldon, Alpheus Kimball, Isaiah Putnam, Amos Durant and others. The amounts paid were modest as compared with those of to-day. For instance: "Paid

C. H. Searle for services as chorister for 1829 \$10⁰⁰; Capt. Durant services in singing same year \$7⁰⁰; Joseph Upton \$5⁰⁰; W Johnson \$3⁰⁰."

The only musical instrument mentioned in these records previous to 1845, when the new church was dedicated, was the bass-viol. "Paid Capt. Durant for repairing bass-viol"; "Paid Alvah Crocker for use of his bass-viol four years"; and in 1841, "Paid John T. Farwell for use of his double-bass-viol and strings"; "Paid Leander Thurston for playing bass-viol."

In 1831 Alvah Crocker was engaged as chorister at the munificent salary of \$13.00 a year, who held the position four years and was succeeded by Joseph Upton, Jr., who remained for fifteen years, and was followed successively by his brothers John, Thomas and Edwin Upton. Then came George Kimball, a talented New York musician, and N. A. Merriam. Once more Joseph Upton assumed the leadership for a short time; Prof. E. H. Frost, James P. Putnam and Simeon Fuller following.

A few years previous to the establishment of the organ in the new meeting house in 1845, Roby Safford was employed as "musician."

For many years John A. Farwell, eldest son of Dea. John T. Farwell, was organist, also his sister Maria, Andrew Whitney two years, Prof. S. H. Long until 1860, when Miss Ellen Eveleth, now the wife of Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D., assumed the position. She was succeeded by Miss Mary Upton, and later Prof. E. H. Bailey.

With Calvin Upton occupying the position of organ-blower, Capt. Joseph Upton and six of his children as members of the choir, it may be understood that the Upton family contributed very materially and efficiently to this branch of worship.

Mrs. Thomas Hale, a sister of Uncle Cyrus Thurston, was the earliest leading soprano, followed by Miss Dorothy Kimball, the present Mrs. E. Foster Bailey, then Mrs. Abel F. Adams, Mrs. Joseph Baldwin and Miss Ruth Trask. Mrs. James P. Putnam (also of the family of Uptons) was the leading contralto during these earlier years.

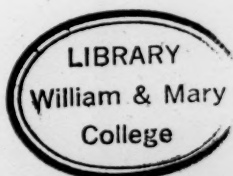
About the year 1830 the society employed Alvah Crocker as teacher of its annual singing school. This grew to be an essential institution of the church, which contributed for more than thirty years to exert great influence on the social and esthetic side of the church's life.

The introduction of musical instruction in public schools has superseded the denominational singing school, with the result of a professional quartette replacing the choir of voluntary singers.

The delightful memories of the old singing school have a tinge of sadness, yet we believe we can discern in the change the evolution of truer ideas of worship whereby the quartette of educated singers may be the nucleus around which the worshipping congregation may more intelligently unite in praise service.

The following names indicate the character and influence which the C. C. church and society held in the community fifty years ago, all of whom were actively identified in its interest:

Goldsmith F. Bailey, Amasa Norcross, Alvah Crocker, Rodney Wallace, all of whom have served in the United States Congress; Drs. Alfred Hitchcock, James R. Wellman, Levi Pillsbury, Alfred Miller; Gen. Moses Wood, William H. Vose, Stephen Shepley, Ephraim Whitman and Lowell Miles, of Whitman & Miles Manufacturing Co., Sylvester C. Wright, founder of Fitchburg Machine Co. In mercantile pursuits Charles Ide, Jacob H. Fairbanks, Ezra B. Rockwood, Charles Sawtell, John Upton, William E. Wallace, William O. Brown, Abel Simonds, Thomas Palmer, Col. Edwin Upton, Alfred Wetherbee, Elijah M. Dickinson, David Boutelle, Abel F. Adams, Henry F. Kenney, who by his remarkable executive ability a few years later elicited the commendation of President Lincoln for successfully and promptly moving the immense Union armies into Washington during the Civil War. These, with as many more which might be named, have made the Calvinistic church and society a tower of strength which we delight to honor.



REMINISCENCES RELATING TO THE SECOND MEETING-HOUSE IN FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, January 20, 1902.

WRITTEN BY E. FOSTER BAILEY.

The subject assigned to me is, "Reminiscences Pertaining to Fitchburg's Second Meeting-House,"—the building which now stands on the corner of Main and Circle streets; and which was formerly located just in front of the present Unitarian church. It is to the pre-existing state of that old building before its transformation from sacred to secular uses that this paper is devoted.

My first acquaintance with it dates back to the year 1826, when I was six years old. On a certain bright, sunny day in the early part of March of that year, immediately succeeding a moderate snow storm, might be seen, threading its way towards Fitchburg, up and down the long, steep hills over the old Westminster road, (then the shortest and best traveled way between Fitchburg and Westminster,) a horse and sleigh, with a woman, two little boys and a youthful driver. One of these boys—the elder—was myself; the other was my brother, and the woman was my mother; while the driver was the late Samuel M. Dole. That morning's ride took us over what was then called Cowdin's hill, nearly a mile long; then by Asa Sawyer's to Factory hill—a descent so steep that it was the dread of all women and of some men; then over the old road to Daniels hill—a hill nearly as precipitous as the former and some longer; then by Thomas Eaton's, the father of the late Daniel S. Eaton; down the long hill to Jonas Marshall's; thence down West street into the village.

This was my first look at Fitchburg. We had come—our little family of three—as adventurous emigrants from a little hamlet in New Hampshire to this thriving town, to make it our home, and to make here a livelihood out of the possibilities of the future. We were landed by our driver at the residence of Mr. Benjamin Snow, whose house then occupied the spot where now stands the residence of Mrs. C. J. Billings. This house, then owned and occupied by Mr. Snow, has since been removed, and now stands in Newton place, and to this day I never look upon it without being stirred with a tender regard for the venerable structure which so kindly sheltered me upon my first advent into Fitchburg. Our household goods arriving in a day or two, we were soon located in a small house directly west of and adjoining the house now occupied by Mrs. Sylvester Litchfield, then owned by Dr. Abel Fox. This small house, our first home in Fitchburg, long since disappeared to make room for its successor.

The old meeting-house, (afterwards the town hall,) the subject of our narrative, stood but a few rods from our new home, and became a permanent factor in our eastern landscape view. Our juvenile mind was more captivated with the magnitude of the structure than with its architectural lines of beauty. It was a large, nearly square building, very plain, with front entrance on the south side; with no steeple and no ornamentation of any kind—being rather barn-like in general appearance, save for the two porch projections, one on the east and one on the west ends, which served for entrances and stairways. It stood somewhat askew to the street and surrounding buildings, giving a unique awkwardness to the general aspect. This was the result of a vote of the town to have the house face exactly south, instead of directly down the street, as originally designed. This vote was engineered through town meeting by the disgruntled party which had fought persistently for ten years for its location farther westward. It was their “last kick” and the final ending of the ten years’ meeting-house controversy. It was said that so interesting were the proceedings of those town meetings that people from surrounding towns came in crowds to see the show. In 1827 a great improvement

was made in the building by the construction of a tower and belfry to receive a bell, the donation of Mr. Jonas Marshall. This was a timely and useful gift, and being used for both parish and town purposes was highly appreciated by the whole people. I have a dim recollection of seeing the men standing on a staging and pulling a short rope, sending the wave sounds pealing over the hills and along the valleys of Fitchburg, announcing to the people that a new institution had come to town. An institution, indeed, it was, convenient and useful, for it informed the people of every case of death, specifying the sex and age, and when the funeral was in process. It informed the farmers every Sunday morning at nine o'clock when they should make preparations for their Sabbath day's journey, when to arrive at the meeting house and when to take seats in the pews. It designated the proper time for dinner and when to go to bed. It also sounded the fire alarm and aroused the inhabitants from their midnight slumbers, when the fire fiend was abroad,—calling forth both men and women with bucket and pail in hand to form their lines to the river for the passing of water to quench the devouring element. The donation of such a gift was indeed a benefaction.

Mr. Marshall, the author of this benefaction, came to town when eleven years old, and by industry and shrewd purchases of land became the richest man in town, except, perhaps, the rich merchant of the Old City, Joseph Fox, Esquire. He not only knew how to acquire property, but also, what is as important in the race for riches, he knew how to keep it. I never heard of his losing by any investments he ever made except his venture in Maine lands during the famous eastern land speculation, sometime in the thirties, and in which he had plenty of company. While economical, he was also regardful of the necessities of the worthy poor. The Rev. Mr. Lincoln lived in his family in the first years of his settlement in town. Mr. Marshall was a firm adherent to the Unitarian faith, and a zealous advocate of its doctrines. Although a Unitarian, he was possessed of some of the stalwart elements of the Puritan character. The square and plummet were the

instruments by which he tested himself and others in the conduct of business. The strict fulfillment of agreements, the prompt payment of debts, and a careful regard for the legal prerogatives and limitations of property rights were his creed. The rules, the performance of which he exacted from others, he was scrupulously careful to practice himself. When a young man he had occasion to borrow a few hundred dollars of some one in the west part of the town, by the name, I believe, of Hilton. The interest on the note given he paid, for a series of years, exactly on the day it became due, although sometimes he had to travel miles on foot to do it. He abhorred usury, and later, when he himself became a loaner of money, his rate of interest was six per cent.,—no more and no less; and under no circumstances or temptations could he be induced to deviate from the rule. I remember very well the astonishment he manifested upon hearing that a good Baptist friend was taking seven per cent. interest. He was a constant attendant of church services, and when in advanced age he had become so deaf that he could hardly catch a word of the sermon, he still, with the same punctiliousness, continued his attendance—all for example's sake. Independent in dress, as in other things, and regardless of changing customs and the dictates of fashion, he persisted in wearing knee breeches long after the fashion had passed away, and wore his hair in a cue to the end of his life.

The ground on which the meeting-house stood was used by the public as a training field for the military and for gatherings on holidays, and was the constant resort of children of all ages for their various plays and sports. During the spring and summer months when the schools were in session, the flying feet of juvenile exuberance afforded a slim chance for the grass to grow. Our main playground was the upper part of the common, it being near the school house, which was on the corner of Mechanic street; and besides, the old church building afforded us conveniences for some of our plays, such as "gool," "I spy," and "hail-over." There were in vogue many games of ball, such as "long ball," "square ball," "drive

ball," "hail-over" and "hole-ball," and the outcry *bawl*, consequent upon accident or conflict; such as "fall down bawl," and "push down bawl." This constant tread of youthful feet made it impossible for vegetation of any kind to assert itself above the earth. The modern sign-board, "Keep off the Grass," with a policeman at hand to enforce the command, had not then been invented, so that the grounds around the church were generally innocent of that verdure of green so assiduously cultivated at the present day. Our fathers had little time or inclination to raise grass for esthetic purposes. The only adornments in sight were the sticks and stones which the boys had left from their plays.

Another source of amusement for us young children was the watering trough. On a roadway running from West Main street to Mechanic street, close by the rear of the old church, lay this plain and rustic receptacle for water. To the best of my recollection it was a good-sized log, hollowed out by the adze and chisel, with a hole at the bottom to receive the lead pipe in which was inserted a piece of pipestem,—the small aperture being favorable to economy in the supply department. We never tired of watching the little fishes as they sported in the water, or lay motionless in the warm rays of the sun. And then there was the amusement of gathering the waste water in the roadway into little channels, which we called the river, across which we built dams and flooded them with water, and after placing our water wheels and imagining the existence of factory buildings, we were ready for business. Then, having drunk in to satiety the delights of construction, we turned around and took our fill of destructive delights by trampling down our dams, spilling the water, breaking our water wheels and mill machinery in pieces, and with noise and confusion ending up in a state of general bankruptcy. In winter the old trough, by the freezing of its waste water, afforded us lots of fun on the smooth patches of ice in the roadway. Sliding on our feet on the ice was a very fascinating amusement, but very detrimental, not only to the *soles* of our shoes but also to the *souls* of our parents when

they came to settle the shoemaker's bills. Still another amusement was furnished by the old trough when we conceived the idea of embarking in the shipping business with chips and little pieces of board for our vessels and pebble stones and such-like for freight. We imagined the trough of water to be the Atlantic ocean, over which our ships crossed back and forth laden with the commerce of the world—with no intermeddling tariff to disturb the normal relations of exports and imports. Those were the halcyon days of free trade—an era of prosperity.

This ancient relic—the watering trough,—long since passed from human view, but I find in memory's book its name recorded as the children's friend. And now, my dear old friend, permit me to recount your many virtues. If I could I would immortalize thy memory. No school girl ever gazed on thy placid face without a smile from thee. No boy ever came to paddle in thy cooling waters without thy kindly greeting, and for every thirsty soul that sought thy side for a cooling draft thou hadst a generous welcome, whether it was horse or ox or cow or dog. If the giving of a little cup of water makes the giver meritorious and entitled to reward, what is thy merit and what will be thy reward, who dispensed through many years the cooling draft to thirsty thousands in unstinted measure?

Having given some idea of the church building and the grounds around it, I will try to describe its interior. I have already made mention of the main entrance and of the two porches on the east and west ends that furnished entrances to the lower floor and stairways to the galleries. Pews occupied the space next the walls, and between the pews and the very front of the galleries were two rows of bench seats. Those on the south, with a portion on the east and west, were assigned to the singers. The remainder were used for the overflow of the pews below, consisting generally of the younger members of large families, whose family pews were insufficient for their accommodation, and for indigent people who could not afford to own a pew or hire a seat.

The pulpit was on the north side—midway—and just opposite the front entrance of the church, with the ancient sounding board suspended above, to perfect the acoustic properties of the building. In the arrangement of the lower floor, wall pews encircled the whole room, leaving space for entrances from without on the east and west sides. From the front door to the pulpit ran the broad aisle, and on either side were two rows of pews which were generally appropriated by the elite of society, and the financially prosperous portion of the community. A passage-way encircled the four rows of pews, affording access to all the wall pews and one-half of the central pews—the other half being entered from the broad aisle. The stairs for the pulpit were on its west side, with a proper landing at the pulpit door. It was well boxed up and elevated, and when the door was closed the minister was well secured against the gaze of the people below, but open to the inspection of the boy in the gallery, whose mouth would water with envying sweetness when he espied the preacher taking his lump of loaf sugar during the singing of the hymn preceding the sermon. The pews, as I recall them now, were square, with openwork surrounding the top, made of little turned sticks in spindle form, through which the little folks could peep and hold some sort of spiritual conversation with their little friends in the adjoining pew. The seats, uncushioned and hung on hinges, were raised by the worshipers as they arose at the opening of prayer, and were slammed down by the small boy at the close, in chorus with the concluding Amen.

The wall pews, especially those against the loosely fitted windows and gaping cracks by the doorways, were not particularly comfortable sittings in winter in zero weather. The old box stove, although crowded to its utmost capacity with the best of fuel, would make no more impression on the temperature of the remote wall pews than glints of sunlight on the frozen mosses of the Arctic regions. The old stove, save for its warming influence in its immediate locality, was chiefly useful in furnishing live coals for the little fire-pots in the foot-stoves

of the shivering women who had travelled miles to attend the Sabbath service. It was a comfort to these Christian souls, who had left their homes and faced the rigors of the weather for the sweet enjoyments of divine worship, to have the dying embers in the little foot-stoves exchanged for living coals. But their robust and hardy husbands, inured to cold and exposure, who kindly brought forth the little stoves and made the desired exchange at the mouth of the old box stove, would for themselves reject with scorn such feminine comforts.

I remember that Mr. Joseph W. Mansur in delivering some address in this same building, after it had become the town hall, spoke of some English writer who, instituting a comparison of the England of the then present and the past, said, "In former times the houses were made of willow, but the men were of oak, now the houses are of oak and the men of willow." I think Emerson somewhere in his writings—perhaps in a representative way—speaks of those ardent and heroic souls who crave pain as a luxury and pastime.

In such a community as the one of which we write, not yet enervated by ease and luxury, whose members made so much of worship and so little of personal privation, there was no occasion for resorting to costly singing, sensational sermons and club contrivances to induce the people to come to church.

For two or three of the first Sundays after our settlement in town I attended this church and sat in the pew of Mr. Benjamin Snow, on the east side of the broad aisle, the third or fourth from the pulpit. I have an imperfect recollection of the presence of Rev. Calvin Lincoln in the pulpit,—of his benignant look and reverend mien; but my remembrance of the text and sermon is *nil*. I presume my attention was largely taken up with my young friend, William Hall Snow, whose acquaintance I had previously made in one of the river towns of New Hampshire. The old veteran of song, Cyrus Thurston, then a young man, led the singing. The thing that made the deepest and most abiding impression upon me was that large and mysterious sounding board above the pulpit. At that tender

age I was innocent of all knowledge of the science of acoustics, and was puzzled to know its use and purpose. After pondering the question for some time I sought its solution of some older boys, who very seriously told me that its purpose was to keep a check on the preacher, for if he should dare to tell the people anything different from what the Lord commanded him to say, the iron rod which held the structure to the timbers above would part and let fall the avenging canopy upon the head of the offender. This revelation was startling, and I felt that I would not wish to be around when such a catastrophe should occur.

In this state of mind I was willing to go with my mother and cast in my lot with the C. C. church, the pulpit of which stood unguarded by any such terrifying apparatus. I joined the Sunday school, the late venerable Justin Stearns being my teacher, and of him I took my first lessons in pictorial theology, beginning with the fall of man in the garden of Eden. Our textbook was the *Evangelical Primer and Catechism*, by Rev. Joseph Emerson, the father of Rev. Alfred Emerson, who so acceptably ministered as pastor to the C. C. church for about ten years, mostly in the sixties. At the top of each page in this little textbook were two woodcuts which, though not artistic to modern eyes, were to my childish fancy the essence of beauty. The remainder of the page was devoted to questions and answers, which constituted the dry portion, requiring too much hard study to be pleasurable. But the pictures were my delight and I never tired of looking at them. The first represented the garden of Eden, in which were Eve and the serpent; the serpent erect on the end of his tail, pouring into the unsophisticated ear of the woman his anarchistic doctrine of disobedience and treason. The second was Cain and Abel—Cain, with the uplifted club, ready to strike the fatal blow, while the innocent Abel, with uplifted hands, was pleading to be spared. And so the pictures extended through a series of pages, illustrating the principal events of Old Testament history. And now I am reminded of the three lines of doggerel I used to hear, invented, I suppose, by some waggish divine,

to illustrate the doctrine of the solidarity of the common race with the specific, individual Adam:

"In Adam's fall we sinned all;
In Abel's murder we sinned furdur;
In Korah's sin we all jined in."

There may have been originally another line; if so, I have forgotten it. From this time my attendance at the old church was occasional and infrequent. The denominational fences in those days were pretty high and the bars were well put up.

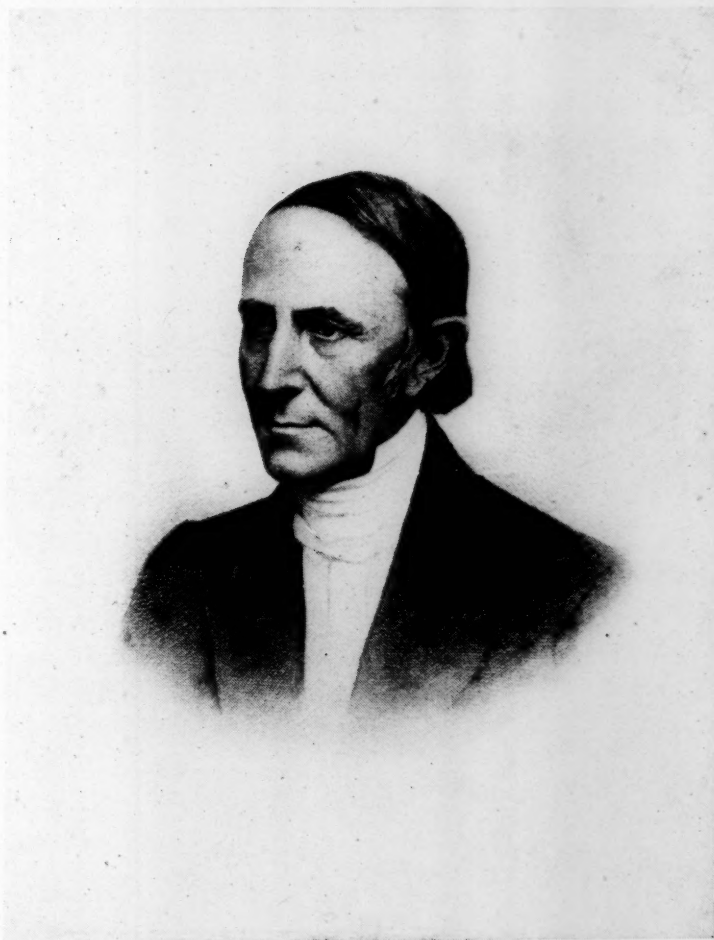
The doors of the old church were generally kept locked on week days, but occasionally one would be left ajar, which, when discovered by juvenile eyes, became the subject of investigation. Reinforced by numbers, we would push open the door and with timorous feet enter and look around in expectancy for the personal visibility of the solemn old hobgoblins we had conjured up in our imaginations. Seeing none, and becoming familiarized with our surroundings, we were ready to take our play with our usual abandon.

What a wonderful thing is a child's imagination! From whence came it, and what is its use? Did you ever observe with thoughtful care the little girl in the room corner set apart for her play house, surrounded by her dolls and playthings? how she will personify the inanimate things about her—giving them life and intelligence, fit for communion and companionship? how she will talk to them and with them—asking them questions and receiving their answers? how she assigns to each its respective part in the little play to be performed, and brings the performance to a close with encore and applause? Thus, in one short half hour she creates whole pages of dramatic art, containing frequently amusing originalities in details, which for ease and spontaneity more than equal the plodding efforts of the adult intellect. What is the interpretation of this phenomenon of child life, if it be not one of those processes in the evolution of childhood's mental growth whereby, under the tutelage of angels and by the

imaging power of symbols, the emotional elements of being are translated into intellectual perceptions—a process which, like the kingdom of Heaven, cometh not with observation? Fortunate is that child who is allowed his full term in this unseen training school, without interference by the presumed wisdom of older minds; for, as in the development of the chick within the shell, Nature knows her own business best.

It was easy for us children, passing through this interesting stage of our intellectual development, to take our play among the pews of the old church and imagine that the church was the city of the New Jerusalem, that the aisles and passageways were the streets and alleyways, and the pews the bright mansions for the habitation of angels; while the pulpit was the Great White Throne. While playing our game of tag among the aisles we imagined we were fulfilling the prophecy of Zechariah viii. 5, "And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof." When tired of tag we would take up hide and seek, hiding away in the dark corners of the silent pews and making believe that we were concealing ourselves under the angels' wings.

Rev. Mr. Lincoln, the pastor, was a classmate in college of Rev. Rufus Putnam, pastor of the C. C. church. They were on very friendly terms, and their social intercourse was marked by acts of kindness and courtesy—all of which had a very favorable influence in softening and allaying those asperities which still existed in the two parishes, as the residuents of past conflicts. Rev. Calvin Lincoln was a man who might be called a natural-born clergyman. His mien and speech and the structure of his mind were clerical through and through. His characteristics as a Christian man and a pastor were of a high order. He abounded in natural goodness, and the benignity which shone in his face was as the pleasant light of the sun. Although totally devoid of the spirit of personal domination or self-assertion, yet such was the dignity of his virtues that no evil thing could long remain at ease in his presence. In his intercourse with his people he accorded to all the same affability in his greetings, and the same



REV. CALVIN LINCOLN.

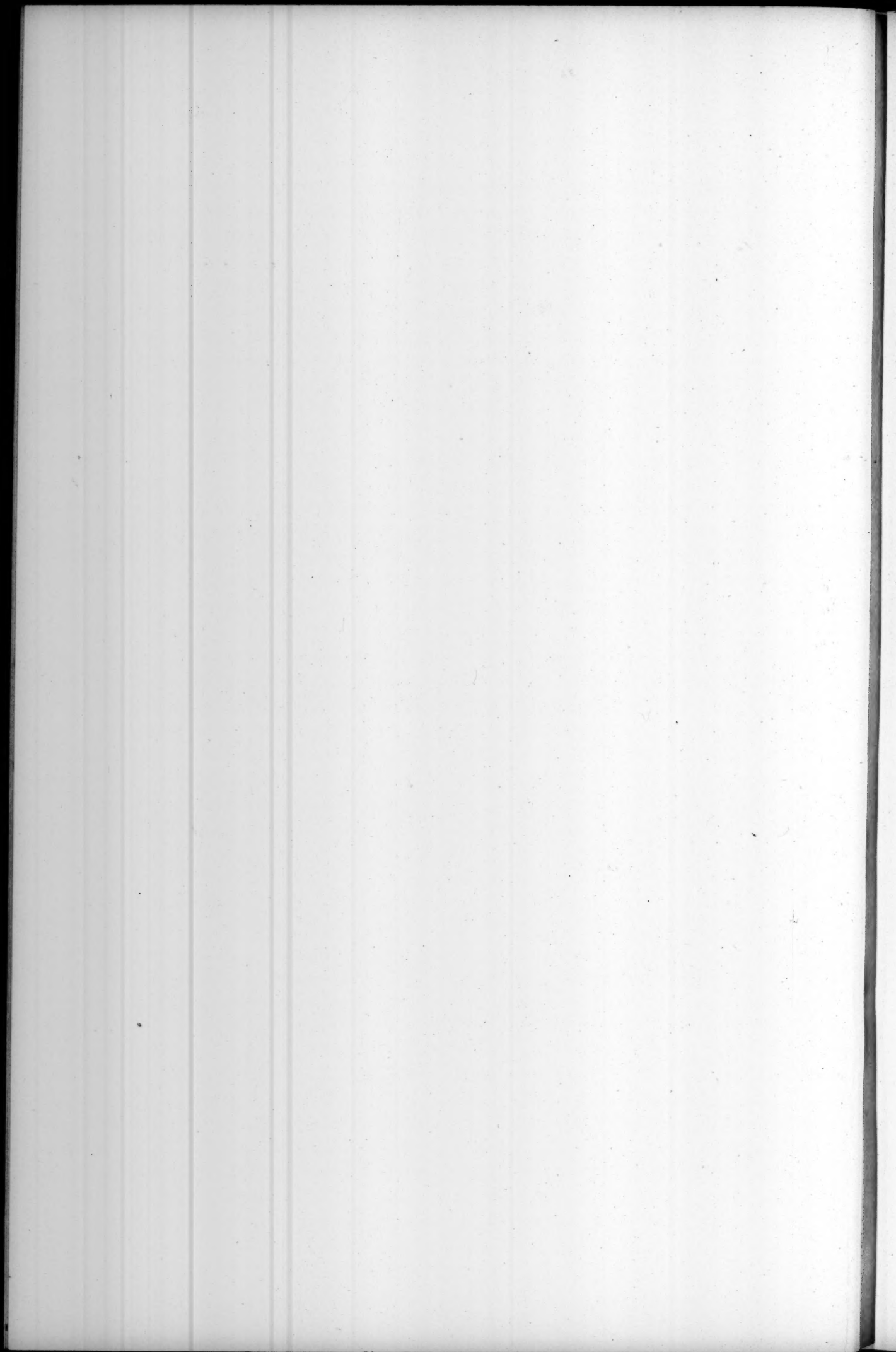
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respectful regard; whether they were high or low, rich or poor. Though manifesting the spirit of that charity which thinks no evil, and which, in a sense, covers a multitude of sins, which the worldly-wise are sure to regard as a mark of unsophisticated weakness, he had a keen sense of the differences of personal character, and he wisely used it to gather for future use such knowledge of personal peculiarities as would enable him to adapt his labors to individual cases. His gentle and sympathizing ways peculiarly adapted him to the ministrations of the sick room, bringing repose to the restless, relief to the anxious, and solace to the suffering; while his wise selection of scripture and adaptation of remarks imparted light to the beclouded mind, and brought to the sick chamber the foregleams of immortal life. As a preacher, he used written sermons, scholarly in construction, unsensational and practical, which he delivered in a smooth, flowing voice, with a clear and distinct enunciation, and with deliberation and little variety in tone, but withal earnest and impressive. His pastorate in Fitchburg covered, I think, nearly or quite thirty years, during all of which time he held the love of his people, and I do not now remember of hearing of any instance of jar or friction between pastor and people. It was as impossible for any one to pick a quarrel with Mr. Lincoln or get up a personal dislike against him, as it would be for a farmer to quarrel with the genial rays of the vernal sun.

The influence of his amiable life and personal virtues extended beyond the limits of his own parish, and he had the esteem of all the people of the town. When a boy I have heard more than one good Orthodox church member say in substance that if it was possible for Unitarians to be saved and admitted into the kingdom of Heaven, they were sure that Mr. Lincoln's name would head the list. His nature was not aggressive. He was not born to be the bold reformer. He didn't try. He knew his mission better. His whole nature shrank from controversy and conflict. It was an impossibility for him to strike the mighty blows of Luther, or even to act the role of John the Baptist; but rather of the gentle Christ who came

after, and whose life he sought to imitate, save, perhaps, in one particular. I do not think he would have used the whip of cords to drive out those desecrators who by trade and barter profaned the Holy Temple.

Such living is called weakness by this striving, rushing, pushing world, that would create a universe in a day, and right all its evils in one short moment, forgetting that thorough work requires more time; that God's ways are not as man's, for He himself is never in a hurry, and has throughout the wide circle of his creative realm forever linked fineness in the product with slowness in the grinding. But, if weakness, it is that weakness which the Father uses to confound the wisdom of the wise, and which in Paul was Christian strength. Mr. Lincoln's type of strength was not the heaving earthquake or the roaring wind, but rather the mild, warm and silent rays of the vernal and summer sun, which continued, day by day, week by week, and month by month, brings fruitage to the fields; or that silent, penetrating force that draws upward in the young tree the vital sap from its buried roots, for its sustenance and growth through many years, till in maturity of vital strength it gives back as its reward its ripened fruit on laden boughs.

REMINISCENCES OF THE OLD TOWN HALL.

Read at a meeting of the Society, April 21, 1902.

WRITTEN BY E. FOSTER BAILEY.

Prosperous towns with a steady growth in population will gradually come to feel the pressing necessity for further accommodation, and not infrequently will two or more such public needs make themselves manifest at the same time. Such was the case in Fitchburg in the year 1836. For some little time the conviction had been growing among the people that a town hall was an urgent necessity. Indeed, as early as 1814, some pioneer in municipal progress had an article put into the warrant for town meeting, as follows: "To see if the Town will purchase of its proprietors the Meeting House in which the late Calvinistic Congregational Society worshiped, and turn it into a Town Hall or Academy." But this seems not to have met the approval of the town, as the meeting was dissolved without taking any action thereon.

The First Parish (Unitarian) had in 1836 taken the initiatory steps for the building of a new meeting-house; and School District No. 1 was in need of a new school house. So a plan was talked up for the school district and town to unite and erect a building that would furnish accommodation for both town hall and school purposes. The First Parish, being about to erect a new building, would naturally wish to dispose of the old one to the best advantage. It was plainly evident that the time had come, and now was the opportunity to move for a town hall.

Accordingly a town meeting was held December 31, 1836, at which the following vote was passed:

"Voted to choose a committee with authority to build a Town House, or to contract for and superintend the construction of such a building, either in conjunction with School District No. 1, or alone, as they may think for the interest of the Town."

The members of the committee were David Boutelle, Jonas Marshall, Amos Durant, William Carleton and Joseph Townsend. This committee rejected the proposition to unite with School District No. 1, and purchased the old First Parish meeting-house, and also a lot of land on which to place it, at the corner of Circle and Main streets, as appears by the record of the first town meeting held in the town hall, November 13, 1837. The committee reported the cost of the town hall as follows:

For the site on which the building stands,	\$1000.00
“ purchase of the old meeting house,	410.00
“ moving the same,	200.00
“ stone work, including thresholds,	518.00
“ painting,	140.00
“ labor and materials,	639.86
“ 2 stoves and funnel,	43.87
	<hr/>
	\$2951.73
	CR.
By old porches and odd stuff sold,	\$29.16
	<hr/>
Net cost,	\$2922.57

I remember that one day in the summer of 1837 I saw, on its plank way, pointing towards Circle street, the old First Parish meeting-house, ready to take its adventurous journey to another locality to be used by different owners for different ends. For forty years its walls had echoed to the services of worship—of prayer and praise. They had also echoed to the wrangles of Fitchburg town meetings, which last echoes were in prospect of continuance, and which we may suppose made the coming transition less abrupt and painful. That summer day, which witnessed the venerable old building ready to make its journey, we may presume marked the division line of its metempsychosis, and henceforth we will call it the town hall.

The contractor for moving the building, as I remember him, was past middle age, and was undoubtedly possessed of considerable experience in such work. I think he lived somewhere in the southern part of the county. I do not recall his name, but he successfully accomplished his job with the use of no other power save that of pure man

muscle, operated on wood rollers, with iron bars. It took quite a number of men, and when they were duly placed on the two sides of the building, each to his respective roller, with his bar in its socket, it was necessary, in order to secure the best results, that all should pull in unison. When everything was thus ready, the old man, every inch a commander, would give the signal in voice unmistakably loud and energizing, for a long pull and a pull all together, and the building would move perhaps three or four inches; then, with a replacing of the bars and another pull, three or four inches more might be gained. And so the great building marched slowly and surely to its destination, furnishing another proof of the maxim that "large bodies move slowly."

The building was made into two stories. The upper story was the hall for town meetings, public gatherings, lectures, etc., and was arranged as follows: The desk was at the southerly end of the room, midway; a floor space occupied about one-third of the width of the building from the desk to the doors opposite. This space was filled with settees when the space was needed for seatings, but these could be taken out when needed for standing room. On either side of this space were arranged stationary seats, rising towards the walls by steps of some six or eight inches, facing the opposite side of the room instead of the desk, which made the settees the more desirable seats. The stove was on the north side, between the doors. The entrance from the street, and the stairways, were far from being commodious, the stairs being steep and the entry-way rather contracted. The lower story of the building was made into two apartments for business purposes, though I believe the Fusiliers occupied one of them for their armory.

The first lecture I remember of attending in the town hall was in the winter of 1838-39, and was given by a Frenchman, whose name I do not now recall, on the subject of animal magnetism, now called hypnotism by its new advocates, in expectation, I presume, that a change of name would impart to the old rose a sweeter fragrance. After the lecture the new force was illustrated by a Mr. Locke of Westminster, who had for his subject a boy of

some ten or twelve years of age, from the same town. Mr. Locke put his subject into the somnambulistic state by passing his hands repeatedly from the head downward along the arms, and when the unconscious state was induced he was ready to be submitted to the tests of the skeptics. There was present that evening Charles H. Cragin, teacher in the academy, who was also studying medicine with Marshall & Abercrombie, and he was determined to satisfy himself as to the reality of this alleged abnormal sleep, and particularly whether the boy was insensible to pain, as was claimed. So, when the boy was submitted for examination, Mr. Cragin placed himself behind the chair occupied by the subject, in such a position that he was sure that not the least motion of the muscles could be made without being detected, and then he plied the boy with a pin to that extent that he was certain that no one in a normal condition of sleep could endure it without making some manifestation. Mr. Cragin went home that night in the full belief of the boy's honesty and with his own skepticism badly shaken.

During the months of January and February, 1839, some of the young people of the town busied themselves in getting up some amateur theatricals, and in March gave an exhibition in the town hall, where they presented to the Fitchburg public the tragedy of "Brutus" for two or three nights in succession, and the hall was well filled each night. Some of the actors were: Ira Carleton, in the part of Brutus; Thomas Oakman, as Titus; James Peirce, as Sextus Tarquin; Asa Farwell, as Collatinus; Miss Caroline Benjamin and Miss Eliza Oakman also had parts, while Deputy Sheriff Horace Newton stood behind the scenes and manufactured thunder and lightning with sheet iron and gunpowder. After the tragedy a comedy was enacted, in which Charles S. Litch had the leading part and made the play a success.

I remember a Whig political meeting in the hall in the autumn of 1840. This was the year of that most extraordinary campaign which elected William Henry Harrison president—the campaign in which the Whigs so neatly and completely stole the thunder of the Democratic party

and turned it with telling effect on their old enemies. Soon after Harrison's nomination some very indiscreet Democratic editor came out with an article to show Mr. Harrison's incompetency for the duties of president, calling him an "old granny," and representing him as living in a log house, decorated with coon skins, where he daily sat and drank cider with his friends. The Whig editors were not slow to see their opportunity and to use it. Harrison's military and political life was a matter of written history, and could not be wiped out, but this Democratic description fairly placed him in regard to his daily life among the ranks of the common people. The Whigs accepted this description and represented Van Buren as an aristocrat riding in a splendid imported equipage, and living in princely style, with his dining table ablaze with silver dishes and gold spoons. Thenceforth log cabins, coon skins and hard cider filled the Whig papers and became the battle-cry of the party, and, also, to speak figuratively, became the "spike team" which carried the party to power and swept the political field as by a whirlwind.

I remember this meeting in Fitchburg was preceded by a procession, with some torches. The speaker of the evening was a gentleman from an adjoining town, who had been a lawyer and was now a farmer. He had his speech well prepared and delivered it in good style. He seems to have caught the keynote of the campaign, for he made it his great point to identify his party, as well as himself, with the common people, and in speaking he stood on the floor of the hall instead of at the desk as usual. I remember that in the course of his address, stretching out both hands to show their full size, he said with much emphasis, "These huge paws minister to my daily necessities."

Shortly after the Democrats held a meeting in the town hall, at which Nathaniel Wood, Esq., was the speaker. He referred to the speech made at the Whig meeting, noticed some of the arguments, and spoke of the seeming anxiety of the orator to appear very democratic. Mr. Wood said, "I stand here in this desk because it is more convenient for me and for you, but he, for

effect, chose to stand down on the floor where that grease spot is." Those were the days of oil lights, and the janitor had carelessly spilled some oil on the floor, just in the right place to give peculiar aptness to the remark, which brought out a round of applause. I am unable to bring to mind any other political meetings in the town hall during that fall, though I presume there were others. But I remember very well the November town meeting for the election of state officers and presidential electors. In the early morning of that day the bell was heard to ring, and the people who came out to see what was the matter found on the common, in front of the town house, a nice little log cabin, some three feet square, made of round sticks of about one inch and a half in diameter, tipped up on one side to an angle of say thirty degrees, and beneath a figure 4 arrangement like a rat trap. On the end of the spindle was a miniature cider barrel, on which was written, "A trap to catch Whig votes." During the forenoon Charles Leverett, a young clerk in Mr. Snow's store, wrote on a sheet of paper in large letters, "To let after the fourth of March," and pasted it on the log cabin, which remained on the common all day, and was the occasion of much fun and some hard jokes.

During the autumn of 1841 and the winter and spring following there were numerous temperance meetings held in the town hall. Amid the tumult and excitement of the phenomenal political campaign of 1840, in the city of Baltimore was being developed in a quiet, unobtrusive way, a movement destined in two years to sweep the country with a revolution in the temperance cause more astounding than the political change which carried the Whigs into power. Six men in Chase's tavern in Baltimore, where they were accustomed to meet for tippling and carousal, suddenly determined to quit their drinking. They wrote out and signed a pledge to abstain from all intoxicants, and organized under the name of the Washingtonian Temperance Society. In a short time they had increased to one hundred members, and during the year to one thousand. New York heard of the movement in Baltimore and asked for a delegation to come and work in that city, which was done with very great success. On

leaving New York this band of six Baltimoreans divided into pairs—two going south and two going west, while John H. Hawkins and his companion came on to Boston to work the field in New England. Old Marlboro chapel was made their headquarters, and meetings were held daily and drunkards were brought daily in large numbers to sign the pledge. Every evening new converts were on hand to relate their experiences, and in a few weeks the public sentiment of Boston was changed.

In September, 1841, Mr. Hawkins came to Fitchburg. On the afternoon of his arrival the Fusiliers were on parade, and Mr. Hawkins gave them an invitation to come to his meeting in the C. C. church in the evening, which they accepted and were present, occupying the body of the house. Mr. Hawkins' fame had preceded him, and the church was crowded. He had remarkable powers of persuasion, and his style of weaving together humor and pathos was very effective. But it was in relating his experience as a drunkard, in depicting the resistless force of appetite, that his great heart manifested in voice and emotion his yearning love for the "poor, unfortunate drunkard." This latter was a phrase which he repeated time and again in every address. This was a new kind of talk for that class of people who had heretofore been considered castaways, to be blamed and not pitied. Sympathy was a new element in the work of reforming the drunkard, and its success was marvelous.

A Washingtonian pledge was prepared and offered for signatures at the desk. This obtained but few signatures that night, but the next day quite a number of hard drinkers placed their names to it. A Fitchburg Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society was soon organized, I think at a meeting called for that purpose in the town hall. Jeduthan M. Gibbs was elected president, and Seth B. Hall secretary. They established headquarters, with a reading room, in a building which stood where The Phoenix now is; but their public meetings were held in the town hall and were generally addressed by reformed men from Boston and other places, who sometimes related very thrilling experiences. But few speeches were made by Fitchburg men, though I remember on two occasions lis-

tening to Seth B. Hall and William C. Elleck. Committees in every school district were appointed to circulate the pledge, and some six hundred names of men were soon secured. The women very zealously supplemented the work by organizing a Martha Washington Total Abstinence Society, which had a large membership. So wonderful was the success of the new movement in changing public sentiment and in winning signers to the pledge that the old laborers for temperance felt that the millennium for their cause had arrived, and surrendered their work into the hands of the Washingtonians and went into other lines of philanthropy—largely into the anti-slavery movement. W. C. Elleck, who succeeded Seth B. Hall as secretary, became the editor of a new paper which was established as the organ of the society by the name of *The Cold Water Cup*, but which went out of existence in less than a year for lack of support. As the novelty and excitement gradually wore away, zeal lagged, and the larger part of the reformed men went back to their cups; but I believe that most of the men who were moderate or occasional drinkers, who took the pledge during that temperance revival, kept it faithfully during life.

In the spring of 1842 a Liberty Party association was formed at a meeting in the town hall, by Rev. Hiram Cummings, who had previously given addresses in the Baptist, Methodist and C. C. churches. This was a new movement for the anti-slavery cause, making political action its main work, and antagonizing, in this respect, Mr. Garrison's views, who utterly ignored politics and pronounced the constitution a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Mr. Cummings in his lectures set forth the facts and principles which seemed to call for the formation of an anti-slavery political party. He went into the economics of the slave system, showing it to be an impoverishing institution. Wealth and prosperity, he said, are the result of labor, and especially of skilled labor, which the North had, and which was here respected, while the South regarded labor as degrading; hence her laborers were ignorant and unskilled. Almost every one in the North was in a sense a producer, while less than one-half of the South could be said to be such. The result was

that the South fell behind financially every year, and it was customary for the planters to mortgage their crops one year ahead, to provide the means to carry on their plantations, besides buying all they could of northern merchants on credit, and settling every few years by paying fifty cents on a dollar. He held that the law of economics was that when any part of a community or a nation became non-self-supporting the deficit had in some way to be made up by the prosperous portion; that the South, by superior skill in political management and having ample leisure for such study, had continued to control the government and to fill the important offices of the nation. She had furnished presidents for ten terms out of the fourteen since the adoption of the constitution, and the remedy was to build up a party that should make the question of freedom paramount, just as the South put the interests of slavery foremost.

This view of the question met the approval of many who had heretofore been indifferent to the cause of the slave, or who disapproved of the views and principles of Mr. Garrison. The Liberty party increased in numbers and soon held the balance of power, so as to prevent the election of a representative by either of the other two parties, the majority rule being in force; so that, in order to secure a representative from Fitchburg, these parties were obliged to unite, sending a Whig one year with the help of Democratic votes, and a Democrat the next by the aid of the Whigs. Mr. Cummings had announced that when the party should grow to such numbers as to hold the balance of power, the smaller of the two old parties would wheel into line with the Liberty party, to bring defeat to their ancient enemy. Now this result was contrary to Cummings's prediction, but it showed that the new party was a force which must be taken into account on election days. However, Mr. Cummings's prediction was fulfilled when, in 1850, the Free Soilers and Democrats united and made George S. Boutwell governor, and put Charles Sumner into the Senate of the United States.

In November or December of 1843 a Lyceum was formed for lectures and the discussion of questions of gen-

eral interest. Since the death of the old Philosophical Society Fitchburg had been without such an institution, and the people were generally interested to attend. The meetings were held in the town hall during the winter. Of the list of officers I remember none but Rev. Mr. Lincoln as president, and Abel Thurston vice-president. The disputants were appointed in alphabetical order. My name being among the B's, I came into the first debate, with a medical student for my coadjutor, and for opponents another medical student and a surgeon dentist. I do not remember the question for discussion, but I know it involved the permanency of our republican form of government. On the night of the meeting the hall was well filled, and I was anxious as to my personal fate, being fearful of a breakdown, as it was my first attempt to face an audience in debate. One thing, however, gave me hope and braced me up. A friend, boarding with the gentleman—my opponent—who was to open the discussion, and whom I was to follow, acquainted himself with the line of argument the gentleman had proposed for himself, and informed me. My opponent's opening justified the truth of my friend's information, and when I arose it was with more confidence than might otherwise have been the case, and I closed with the feeling that I had at least made one or two good points. But the next morning I felt far less satisfied with myself, when my friends called around to congratulate me on the success of my maiden speech, for I knew they were praising me for special abilities which I did not possess. My emotions were very like those of a man who was conscious of having obtained goods under false pretenses.

Upon the occasion of my next appearance in debate the subject for discussion was capital punishment—"Ought Capital Punishment to be Abolished?" Rev. Mr. Bullard and myself were appointed on the negative of the question, and a young man—one of Mr. Bullard's church members—was appointed on the affirmative and opened the debate. In his attempt to anticipate the scriptural argument which he presumed his pastor would pursue, he commented on the severity of the penalties attached to the violation of the old Jewish laws, and characterized

them as a Draconian code. When the reverend gentleman came to make his argument he took occasion to call the young man to account for his irreverence towards the Holy Scriptures, and gave him quite a "spanking." It was but natural that his pastor should consider it his duty to rebuke his young church member for the sin of irreverence, but I was surprised to see how obsequiously he took his punishment. As for myself, although my assignment was in contravention of my convictions, I, for the time being, relegated my personal beliefs to oblivion and tried to the best of my abilities to get the prisoner hung. In this lyceum and in others which followed in the town hall for seven or eight years, I believe I always accepted every assignment made for me, and did my best to make plausible that side of the question. I remember very well that on one occasion, when the disputant who was to follow me failed to put in an appearance, and some difficulty arose in filling the vacancy, I was finally appointed my own opponent. I accepted the appointment, and proceeded forthwith to annihilate myself by tearing to pieces my own argument, which I had so laboriously constructed, and with fair success,—showing how much easier it is to tear down than to build up.

My first acquaintance with Dr. Charles Robinson was at one of our lyceum meetings in the town hall. The question up for discussion was one involving the constitutionality of slavery. During the evening the doctor participated in the debate, taking, according to the best of my recollection, the Garrisonian view of the question, for I think he was naturally inclined to prefer that side of any question which would draw out the most opposition. I remember that Ivers Phillips raised a point of order against the doctor, that his remarks were not germane to the question. Some of us that evening caught a partial revelation of Mr. Robinson's leading characteristics, coolness, courage and sagacity, which distinguished him in after years on larger fields and amid tragic scenes.

I remember but few of the lectures delivered before those lyceums. I believe Charles Sumner's lecture on the "Law of Progress," and Wendell Phillips' lecture on "The Lost Arts," were lyceum lectures. Rev. E. H. Sears also

gave a lecture, and for home talent we had Charles Cummings on the Crusades and J. R. Rollins on the "Advantages of Knowledge." Some of the active members were Dr. T. S. Blood, Rev. E. W. Bullard, Milton Whitney, William B. Towne, Charles Shepley, Goldsmith F. Bailey, Charles Robinson, David H. Merriam, C. H. Merriam, W. F. Stone, Goodwin Wood, E. C. Tainter, Solomon Garfield, Amasa Norcross, Henry Farwell, Charles Cummings, John Andrews, Rev. Elnathan Davis, James F. Stiles, Roby R. Safford, Ward B. Farrar, W. H. H. Hinds, Alfred R. Ordway, L. G. Fessenden.

I am sure that these lyceum discussions were quite an educational force in the community in training young men to think and to speak, and they were a good school in which to develop spry thinking and ready expression. Young lawyers, especially, readily improved the opportunity, and did much to make the debates interesting. Among the young men who graduated from our little training school, two became members of Congress, one governor of Kansas, and one a prominent lawyer of Baltimore, Md.

Among all the debating associates of those early days, I know of but three or four who are now alive. Mr. Garfield has the records of two debating clubs. One was a private affair, with meetings in the school-house on School street, during the winter of 1844-45; the other also began as a private club, with meetings held in a building where The Phoenix now stands, in a room then occupied by Stephen Holman for a private school. The club was formed early in 1845, and its beginning seemed auspicious; but soon its attendance fell off and the disputants shirked their appointments; so, after considering numerous devices to secure better attendance, among which was the proposition to fine the members for non-attendance, the club decided to drop the private feature and make its exercises public. It thenceforth held its meetings in the town hall, with invitation to all the people of the town to attend and participate in the discussions. This was a successful move and secured a general good attendance throughout the winter.

I was a member of both these clubs, and on looking over the names which appear on the records I find quite

a number of whom my memory gives me no trace—and yet I must have known them well at the time—showing that personal memory, however valuable, has its limits.

Among our debaters was one, W. F. Stone, a carpenter by trade, who came from Groton and, as I was told, had just passed through an experience in Millerism, advocating its claims. He was one of our best speakers. Milton Whitney was, for fine debating qualities and graceful delivery, one of our very best. He had alertness and logical instinct to seize on the important points, and to hold on to them with tenacity; and, although of a nervous temperament, he had coolness and poise. I am told that he obtained eminence at the Baltimore bar. He read law in the office of Wood & Torrey, and my brother Goldsmith came into the same office as a student during the last half of Mr. Whitney's studentship. I made a general acquaintance with him upon his coming to Fitchburg. He was a pleasant companion, gentlemanly and very bright. Though I was not an intimate associate, our relations were always very friendly. Our convictions on the political and reformatory questions of the day were antagonistic—the movement for the ten-hour law being the exception—though I think we must have made our conjunction on that issue by different roads. I belonged to the radical side of all these questions, and he to the conservative side, and we sometimes engaged in the pastime of exchanging views. I well remember how we once held an improvised lyceum on the sidewalk upon the temperance question. He had tenacity, and I had zeal and stubbornness, and, although the attendance was small, the discussion was interesting. But these little antagonisms never lessened our friendly relations. Indeed, I think he rather liked me all the better for it.

The people of Ashburnham, the native town of Mr. Whitney, had become favorably impressed with his youthful talents and were interested in his success. Soon after his admission to the bar, and his location in an office in the Old City, he had a case in Ashburnham to try, with Nathaniel Wood, Esq., as opposing counsel (the man of whom he had learned his profession). The whole town

was astir with the deepest interest to be present at the legal tournament, and the wager ran high in favor of Ashburnham's favorite son. The room in which the trial was held was crowded, and Whitney was ambitious to show his native townsmen the best that was in him. At a place in his argument where he had scored a good point, an old farmer leaned forward to a neighbor in a seat in front, and in a very loud whisper broke out: "Mr. Wood has raised up a lawyer in Fitchburg who will scratch his eyes out."

Mr. Whitney had fine social feelings which contributed largely to his popularity, and, from what I have heard of his boyhood, he must have been possessed of a good deal of filial affection. Family ties with him were strong. I recall to mind very vividly the last time I ever saw him. It was near the close of his life. He had come on from Baltimore to spend a little time amid the scenes of his early life. It was in the bookstore in the Fitchburg Savings Bank Block, where we happened to meet. Disease had already made sad inroads in his physical system, and I remember well how he pulled up his coat sleeve, to show me his wrist, so attenuated that it seemed that an infant's hand might encircle it. He told me of his bereavement, in the loss of his son, whom he so loved and idolized; how he was broken down by sorrow, and how he yearned with all a father's heart to know the where and the condition of the boy; how he was induced to interview a lady spiritualistic medium, and that he believed he had communication with the departed. He told me of the sweet peace which flowed into his mind as he became assured of the realities of the immortal life, and that it was well with his boy. As I took my leave and looked once more on his attenuated form, I felt somewhat as though I was standing by his open grave.

The following story was related to me by Benjamin Snow, Jr.:

"In the primal years of the nineteenth century Leominster had a debating society. The question for discussion at one of its meetings was, "Which town possesses the most politeness, Leominster or Fitchburg?" and Fitch-

burg was invited to participate. By the rules of the society the president was required at the close of the debate to review the arguments and announce his decision. At the close of this discussion the president made this deliverance: "Gentlemen of the Lyceum, it appears from the debate that the two towns started with the same amount of politeness, and further, that Leominster has used hers and Fitchburg has not, consequently, Fitchburg has the most left."

REV. JOHN PAYSON, FITCHBURG'S FIRST MINISTER.

Read at a meeting of the Society, February 17, 1896.

BY JAMES F. D. GARFIELD.

Previous to the incorporation of the town of Fitchburg its territory was included in the limits of Lunenburg; and to the centre of Lunenburg the scattered inhabitants of this section went to transact the town business. There, Sabbath after Sabbath, with a regularity unknown to the present generation, they congregated for public worship; and thither they carried their dead for burial, over roads at best mere cart paths—or, more properly, bridle paths—for the saddle and the pillion served in the place of vehicles, on ordinary occasions, and slowly, on horseback or on foot, they made their way, through brook and stream, over hill and through valley, along the rough and often dangerous ways.

When, in 1757 the inhabitants of this westerly part of Lunenburg sought to become a separate town, as a remedy for the inconveniences of their situation, the easterly portion showed a decided opposition; but at length, in 1764, they gave their assent, the western section was set off, and the name of John Fitch, at the head of the petition to the General Court for an act of incorporation, perhaps suggested a name for the new town. The territory thus erected into a town contained about two hundred and fifty inhabitants, numbering some forty-three or forty-four families, widely scattered over these hills and valleys. According to Torrey, but a single house had at this time been erected in what was afterwards known as the "Old City," and in all the rest of the valley where afterwards the houses became so thickly clustered there was not a house to be seen; and he adds: "The winds which

swept down through the valley of the Nashua sighed through the pines which here formed a dense forest."

In 1764, the year of the incorporation of the town, the inhabitants voted to have preaching for six weeks. The services were held in the tavern of Samuel Hunt, on what is now Pearl street. The preacher was Rev. Peter Whitney, afterwards for many years the minister of Northborough. These meetings, so far as we know, were the first religious services ever held in the town.

In 1766 the town voted to build a meeting-house. It was an humble edifice, small in size and severely plain in its architecture. It was several years in building—in fact, it is said never to have been thoroughly finished. It was built at odd jobs, as the resources of the people would allow. First the frame was raised and covered with boards; after a time a floor was laid and the outside finished; windows were later supplied, or, as the record says, the house was "glassed" and finally colored, which being interpreted means, it was painted yellow. A pulpit was erected "for the minister to preach in," galleries were built with stairs leading to them, the pew ground was "dignified," and the house "seated." This meeting-house was built on a lot given by Capt. Thomas Cowdin, was located on what is now Crescent street, and was always unsightly, and always uncomfortable; but the people built according to their means, being few in number and of resources slender; for with them pay as you go was the only practical way.

With a meeting-house in sight, the next thing was to secure a minister. In May, 1767, the town voted to observe a day of fasting and prayer, to ask the divine guidance in giving some one a call to settle in the gospel ministry. A call was first given to Rev. Samuel Angier, who declined the invitation to settle.* In November of the

*Samuel Angier, son of Rev. John Angier of Braintree, and grandson of Rev. Samuel Angier of Rehoboth and Watertown, was born in Bridgewater 1723, graduate of Harvard University 1763. He was settled as colleague with his father at Bridgewater, 1767, and was sole pastor there after the death of his father (1787) until his death, January 18, 1805. He married Judith Smith, a daughter of Rev. Josiah Smith of Pembroke. No children.

same year Rev. John Payson was given a call, and he consented to become their pastor. Mr. Payson, born January 6, 1746, was a son of Rev. Phillips Payson, of Walpole, Mass., and a younger brother of Rev. Samuel Payson, the much lamented minister of Lunenburg, who had died several years previously, after a brief pastorate of less than six months. The town now had a meeting-house and a pastor-elect.

On the 7th of January, 1768, a church was organized and the Cambridge Platform was adopted as the rule of church discipline. On the 27th of the same month Mr. Payson was ordained. As to the articles of faith and covenant of the church, the record is silent; but the Synod which framed the Cambridge Platform unanimously recommended the Westminster Confession of Faith to the churches, as the rule of their faith; and it is fair to presume that the Westminster Confession and Catechism fairly represented the religious sentiments of the first minister and the first church of Fitchburg. That Mr. Payson was a Calvinist, of the strictest sort, there can be no question.

The sermon at his ordination was preached by his brother, Rev. Phillips Payson, pastor of the church in Chelsea. The sermon was printed, and this Society has the good fortune to own a copy (the only one of which we have any knowledge), which was very appropriately presented as the first donation to the Society's collections. Perhaps I shall be pardoned for quoting an extract or two. Near the close of the sermon, addressing himself to the candidate, he says:

"No business or concern in life is so momentous as the pastoral care; no profession or order of men bound by such sacred and solemn ties. * * * With a mind deeply impressed with the importance of the thing, let me particularly address myself to you, my dear brother, that are now entering into this sacred and important office. * * * In preaching the gospel labor to do it by manifestation of the truth, commending yourself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Let purity of doctrine and fervency of address distinguish your preaching. And as to the more intricate doctrines of revelation you will endeavor to preserve them pure in the words of inspiration; and never set up your own reason above Scripture, nor your own sentiments as a standard for others; but as far as your influence may extend, endeavor to cultivate a candid and charitable spirit. * * *

"In your faithful care of souls, never forget your own, but *live*, as well as *preach*, the gospel. Never suffer your fancy to fly away with your reason; nor your humour, interest or passion to blind or bribe your conscience.

"Sensible of your own mortality, you will be quickened to improve every talent, every moment of time. Nor can I forbear here minding you and myself of our own dear brother deceased, that in this view is a most solemn monitor to us both. His untimely death being by this occasion brought fresh to mind, we are now led by the feelings of humanity to drop a tender tear into his moldered urn; should your time for labor be no longer than his!—but I forbear. I most heartily, my dear brother, wish you every good; but wishes seem to be too slender tokens of the affection of my mind; I therefore, with my whole soul, commend you to him who can bless you and make you a blessing, keep you from falling, and finally present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy."

Then addressing himself to the people:

"Beloved of this church and society, suffer me to recommend to your remembrance what you have been hearing of the importance of the ministry; * * and should my brother be faithful among you, you will never withhold your friendship from him; and always esteem his reputation too sacred to sacrifice to common fame or your own humours. * * * The comfort of his life, and the success of his ministry under God, lay much with you. You may easily harass his mind, and involve yourselves in broils, and give Satan an advantage against you, which he will readily improve to your ruin. But we hope better things. Your peace and harmony will always be your beauty and strength."

Mr. Payson was settled on a salary of £60; and it is related that in the stormy times of the Revolution, though his salary was always promptly paid, yet owing to the depreciation of the currency and its worthlessness as a circulating medium, he was reduced to a destitute condition. In March, 1778, a subscription paper was passed among the inhabitants, that they might contribute of "the necessities of life anything that they pleased" for his support; in acknowledgment of which he expressed himself well satisfied with what the town had done. In 1780 the town voted to pay him eleven thousand dollars (of course in the depreciated currency) to make up the loss which he had already sustained.

Rev. John Payson married in Lynn, Mass., November 18, 1772, Anna Perkins. She was a daughter of William and Sarah (Stearns) Perkins and was born in Lynn, September 29, 1742. She died in Fitchburg April 8, 1802. They had four children, John, William, Anna and Sarah.

Torrey's history, in a notice of Rev. Mr. Payson, says he was "a man of respectable talents, of a peaceful disposition, and of devoted piety. He was fortunate in having secured, for a long period, the love and respect of his people. Fond of the peaceful walks of his profession, he knew but little of the affairs of the world, and was ill calculated to sustain its buffets. The latter years of his ministry were embittered by the inroads made among his people by the Methodists, Baptists and Universalists." So early as 1787, seventeen "professed Baptists" were exempted by the town from paying any tax toward the support of Mr. Payson, on the ground that they had preaching among themselves. "These circumstances, together with a constitutional infirmity of mind, caused a great depression of spirits, which finally settled in confirmed insanity. * * * Yet he continued to preach for several years. He would go through with the public services on the Sabbath with perfect propriety, when frequently there did not occur another lucid interval during the week." One who remembered him during the last years of his ministry related that he would sometimes enter the pulpit, and then, as if conscious of his mental infirmity, would apologize to his people for not being in condition to preach—and then descend to the deacons' seats in front of the pulpit, and there go on with the services.

"His infirmity increasing upon him, in the summer of 1793, both the church and town united in calling a council to take into consideration their ecclesiastical affairs." After a ministry of twenty-six years, in May, 1794, Mr. Payson was regularly dismissed. He continued to reside in Fitchburg, but still the victim of insanity, until May 21, 1804, when he died by his own hand, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His death occurred in Leominster, at the residence of his brother-in-law, while there on a visit. His remains repose in the old cemetery on South street, where a large horizontal slab bearing an elaborate inscription in Latin was erected to his memory.

It is not known that any sermon or other literary effort of Rev. Mr. Payson has been preserved in print; but during the past month a manuscript sermon in his



4. Super, I will be thou dead &
immediately his Spirit de-
parted from him; & when he
to go, tumultuous winds &
sea rose, he fell, & suddenly
there was a great calm. 10.
A complete repentance of his
beneficent intention was he who
went about doing good? how
like him who maketh his way
to rise on y. soil & y. good
and sendeth rain on y. just &
on y. unjust, was he who shed
on y. cross, concerning y. y.
persecuted him. Father forgive
y. for they know not what they
do. But I w. proceed to
conclude with some impres-
sion & application: 1. If Christ
is by nature God, of infi-
nite wisdom & power, how few
are all his? all his un-
der Disciples are his friends,
his spouse, & y. very mem-
bers of his body: & surely he
has power to protect y.
being y. Almighty God. So be

peculiar hand-writing has come to light, and through the courtesy of Mr. E. B. Rockwood we have been permitted to make a copy of it. It has seemed worth the while to puzzle over the almost indecipherable manuscript, to be able to get a glimpse of the kind of preaching under which the forefathers and mothers of this hamlet sat in the days when all were expected to attend divine service regularly, or be disciplined for neglect of duty.

This sermon is dated September 8, 1786, and must have been preached at the little meeting-house on the hill, between Blossom and Mt. Vernon streets. The closely-written pages, covering the paper to the very edge, indicate a careful economy in the use of writing material. During the period of Mr. Payson's ministry there were very few paper mills in the country; and the process of manufacture being entirely by hand, paper was a somewhat expensive commodity. A brief extract may serve to show something of the style and character of Mr. Payson's work.

"This is an argument that has often been used to prove the divinity of Christ—that all those works which the Supreme God only can do are attributed to him in the Word of God. * * * The evangelist from whom is our text, said, in the first chapter, that all things were made by Christ, and without him was not anything made that was made. * * * I might also show you that the preservation and government of the world are, in sacred writ, ascribed to Jesus Christ. It is therein said that by him all things consist, and that he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and as none can do these works but God—almighty in power and infinite in knowledge—their being attributed to Christ proves that he has the divine nature. * * * And, surely, never did the natural son of an earthly parent resemble him more than our Lord Jesus—as his character is drawn in the Evangelists—does the God of Nature; for, does the Supreme God appear from the works of nature to be a being of infinite knowledge and wisdom, and did not our Lord Jesus in his conduct and conversation in the world appear to be possessed of such a divine wisdom? * * * And how much like that adorable Being who said, 'Let there be light and there was light,' does our Lord Jesus appear, when he said to the leper, 'I will—be thou clean,' and immediately his leprosy departed from him! And when he said to the tempestuous winds and seas, 'Peace, be still;' and suddenly there was a great calm? What a complete resemblance of our beneficent Creator was he who went about doing good! How like him who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust, was he who cried on the cross concerning them that persecuted him—'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!'"

In 1786, when this sermon was written, Fitchburg had increased from a population of two hundred and fifty to probably not far from a thousand inhabitants. Torrey gives a description of the village as it appeared at this time. He says:

"A traveler approaching from the east or south would first behold the tavern of Thomas Cowdin. Upon the hill to the northwest might be seen a small, yellow, and rather mean-looking meeting-house. In front would appear the red store of Joseph Fox, Esq., and in the rear of that his dwelling house, with large, projecting eaves. The mills and dwelling house of Dea. Ephraim Kimball were just below, and over the bridge were two houses more. Casting his eyes up the hill he would see the house of Rev. Mr. Payson [later known as the Dea. Samuel Burnap place]. This was all that could be seen, and all that then constituted the village of Fitchburg. Thence proceeding westward over a crooked and rough road the traveler would next see the house built by David Gibson [about where the city hall now stands], and opposite to that Mr. Gibson's baker's shop. He would then come on to the present common. Here his sight would be greeted by small, stunted pine trees, and such bushes as grow upon the poorest land. A straggling log fence here and there might serve to diversify the scene."

Such, in 1786, when the sermon was written from which we have read, was the forbidding aspect of what is now the busy and thriving city of Fitchburg.

Four of the sons of Rev. Phillips Payson of Walpole were ministers. The eldest, Rev. Phillips Payson, Jr., was a distinguished minister of Chelsea, Mass., a graduate of Harvard, 1754, and received from that institution the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Rev. Samuel Payson, a graduate of Harvard, 1758, ordained over the church at Lunenburg, 1762, died February 14, 1763, at the age of twenty-four, after a ministry of less than six months. Rev. John Payson, born January 6, 1746, graduated at Harvard, 1764, became the first minister of Fitchburg, and Rev. Seth Payson, the youngest and only son by a second marriage, graduated at Harvard, 1777, was ordained at Rindge, N. H., in 1782, and received the degree of D. D. from Dartmouth college in 1809. He died February, 1820, after a ministry of thirty-seven years. Both father and sons, says Stearns in his History of Rindge, are reported to have been able ministers and excellent men. Eminently successful in their profession, they evinced a lively interest and exerted a great influence in civil affairs.

EARLY FAMILIES OF FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, April 20, 1908.

BY EZRA SCOLLAY STEARNS, A. M.

Among the many valuable papers which have been read before the Fitchburg Historical Society and printed in the volumes of proceedings, is an admirable paper by Mr. Henry A. Willis, entitled "The Birth of Fitchburg." In the biographies of the men and the record of the families living here at the date of incorporation, we find evidence of intelligent research and a liberal knowledge of the founders of Fitchburg. I have read the article many times, and always with a constant appreciation of its merit and its value to present and future students of local history.

Of the Goodrich, Kimball, Putnam, Lowe, Gibson and other families who, through succeeding generations, have been potent factors in the development of Fitchburg, Mr. Willis has written at considerable length. It is the province of this paper to present additional record of several of the residents in 1764 of whom our present knowledge is more limited.

Mr. Torrey, in "stating the place of residence of each family living in the town when it was incorporated," gives a list of forty-three names. Of these Mr. Willis omits Charles Willard and Phineas Goodell, and adds to Mr. Torrey's list the names of John Fitch, Joseph Lowe, John Buss, John Buss, Jr., Nathaniel Walker and William Flagg. These amendments by Mr. Willis are sustained by the evidence of the records. Leaving for some other occasion the discussion of any additional amendments to the list of men living in this town in 1764, I will attempt to give some added information of a few of the founders of Fitchburg.

ISAIAH WITT married in Marlborough, Massachusetts, February 28, 1748, Deborah Stewart, a daughter of Daniel and Persis (Witt) Stewart. She was born in Marlborough February 18, 1727. They moved to Lunenburg about 1753 and settled on Pearl Hill, where James Edward Putnam now resides. There he lived until 1773, when he sold the farm and buildings to Daniel Putnam. He died probably in Westmoreland, New Hampshire, where his sons had settled, but a record of his death has escaped inquiry.

The Cunningham genealogies of Lunenburg families state that he died before 1767, and that his widow married Ebenezer Harrington. It was a daughter, and not his widow, who became the wife of Ebenezer Harrington. Isaiah Witt was chosen a warden in 1765, selectman in 1767, constable in 1771, and was appointed on several committees in the conduct of town affairs. As a constable in 1771 he personally warned three town meetings, and in the year 1772 he contracted with the town to support one of the poor of Fitchburg.

They had six children:—

I. Martha, born Marlborough, August 30, 1750, married in Fitchburg, November 26, 1767, Ebenezer Harrington, born in Lexington March 16, 1743, son of Richard Harrington. He was first taxed in this town in 1765. He was a soldier in the Revolution from Fitchburg, and they lived here until 1780, when they removed to Westmoreland. Four children were born in this town.

II. Artemas, born Marlborough, August 30, 1750, lived in Fitchburg until 1773, when he removed to Westmoreland. He served in the Revolution from Westmoreland. Soon after he removed to Chesterfield, where he died April 26, 1823, leaving a widow and five children.

III. Persis, born Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, September 21, 1755.

IV. Moses, born August 19, 1759, lived in Westmoreland.

V. Infant, baptized June 6, probably died young.

VI. Levi, baptized Fitchburg, April 16, 1769.

JOSEPH SPOFFORD, a son of Jonathan and Jemima (Freethe) Spofford, was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, July 13, 1720. He was a brother of John and Jonah Spofford, who lived for a season in Lunenburg. He came to this town about 1750, and remained here nearly thirty years. To the excellent sketch by Mr. Willis of the man and of his homestead, nothing can be added. A few additional items of his family follow. He married in Boxford, September 3, 1745, Sarah Eames, who became the mother of two children. She died about the time of his removal to this town, but a record of her death is not found. He married second, 1757, Mary Marble of Stow. About 1780 he removed to Weathersfield, Vermont, where he died March 13, 1803. His wife, Mary, died June 25, 1801. Six children:

- I. Hannah, born Rowley, 1746.
- II. Mary, born Rowley, June 29, 1747.
- III. John, born Lunenburg, February 19, 1758, lived at Weathersfield, Vermont. He died about 1803, leaving a family.
- IV. Sarah, born Lunenburg, June 25, 1761. Married Asa Grout, born February 3, 1753, a son of Hilkiah and grandson of John Grout of Lunenburg. In his infancy Asa Grout, with others of the family, was captured by the Indians and taken to Canada. After his marriage he lived in Weathersfield, Vt.
- V. Judah, born in Lunenburg, August 25, 1762, married Elihu Grout, born February 17, 1760, a brother of Asa Grout who married her sister Sarah.
- VI. Joseph, born in Fitchburg, April 4, 1770, married Rachel Wright, and lived in Weathersfield, where he died May 24, 1831.

THOMAS DUTTON, a son of Thomas and Hannah (Burge) Dutton, was born in Billerica, August 28, 1713. He married May 10, 1737, Mary Hill, and settled in Westford. He removed to Lunenburg about 1744. His wife, Mary, died about 1755. He married second Sarah Fitch, born in Boston, May 8, 1731, a daughter of Joseph and Margaret (Clark) Fitch. She was a sister of the wife of William Downe, Esq. He removed in 1766 to Rockingham, Vt.,

and died probably in Grafton, Vt. Mr. Willis locates his residence on the lawn of the Normal School and presents a record of eight children. There were three older children who were born before the family removed to this town.

I. Mary, born Billerica, December 14, 1737, married May 8, 1755, Henry Hodgkins, and settled in Winchendon. She died soon and he married second, November 17, 1762, Jemima Ball, and lived, several years at least, in or near Walpole, N. H.

II. Silas, born Westford, 1739, married March 3, 1763, Sarah Whitney, a daughter of Zachariah and Sarah (Boynton) Whitney of Lunenburg. He removed with his father to Rockingham.

III. Sarah, born Westford, 1741.

ROBERT WARES, a son of Ephraim and Hannah (Herring) Wares, was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, April 28, 1699. He was one of the numerous family of Ware, but he and a few of his immediate relatives wrote the name Wares. He married in Boston, December 22, 1727, Dorothy Parker. To the record of marriage is added, "both of Needham." They settled in Needham and there lived about thirty years, and there seven children were born. He removed to the part of Lunenburg which was included in Fitchburg about 1760. He lived on the Wanoosnoc Road. Mr. Willis has given full information of the location. When Fitchburg was incorporated, he was the oldest man in the town, and his age excused him from military service. In 1764 he deeded a parcel of land to his son Robert, and in 1766 another parcel to his daughter Mary. The latest deed of land was to his son Jonathan, in 1769. He died in 1780. His wife survived him. Their children were:

I. Dorothy, born September 7, 1729, died October 8, 1729.

II. Mary, born January 8, 1731. She was not married. Beginning in 1790 she was supported by the town several years. She died in this town December 15, 1817.

III. Robert, born August 27, 1733. He resided in this town only a few years. Before the Revolution he settled in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, where he died March 8, 1814, leaving a family.

IV. Sarah, born November 17, 1736. She married May 27, 1760, Nathaniel Kingsbury. They did not remove to Fitchburg.

V. Jonathan, born August 4, 1738. He lived in this town many years and probably died here. He was a soldier in the Revolution, and held minor town office. He married April 11, 1769, Hannah Battles. Six children were born in Fitchburg. His daughter Lydia and his sons Jonathan and David were not married. His daughter Hannah married John Battles. His son Samuel married Abigail Bailey, and lived in Leominster. His son James married Rachel Wood. He lived in Fitchburg and in Leominster.

VI. Lydia, born September 9, 1742. She married December 26, 1765, Jeremiah Gay, Jr. In the record of marriage she was of Fitchburg and he of Needham. I have not found a record of his death, but in 1770 she returned to Fitchburg bringing a daughter Beulah, who was born January 4, 1768. The daughter Beulah married July 9, 1789, Edward Hammond, a prominent and wealthy man of Natick. They were the parents of the noted fifer, John Hammond, of Framingham, whom the military men of a former generation were delighted to honor.

VII. Moses, born February 13, 1747. He was first taxed in Fitchburg, 1768.

NICHOLAS DANFORTH, a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Hosley) Danforth, was born in Billerica, December 8, 1734. He married March 30, 1758, Elizabeth Jaquith, born in Billerica, February 26, 1740, a daughter of Abraham and Hannah (Farley) Jaquith. She was a sister of the wife of Paul Fitch and of Abraham Jaquith, who lived several years in this town. Nicholas Danforth removed to Fitchburg in 1763. Mr. Willis has given an excellent account of this man to which reference is made. A few additional facts are added. About 1780 he removed to Hartland, Vt., where he was living in 1790. Later he removed to Stillwater, New York, where he died about 1810. His widow died four or five years later. They had eleven children. His sons Samuel and James were soldiers in the Revolution, enlisting at Fitchburg. Their son Isaac remained in Fitch-

burg a few years after the removal of the family. He married Rebecca Taylor. He died at Hoosick, New York.

JOHN BUSS, a son of John and Hannah (Hosmer) Buss, was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, April 2, 1712. I find no record of his marriage. His wife, Eunice, and possibly she was Eunice Wood, a daughter of John and Lucy (Lee) Wood, born in Concord, Massachusetts, March 8, 1712. He removed from Lancaster to Lunenburg in 1742 or 1743. He was a surveyor of highways in 1744, school committee 1749, selectman 1754, and was appointed on many town committees in Lunenburg. In the French and Indian war he was an ensign, in 1761, in Col. Joseph Wilder's regiment. When Fitchburg was incorporated his homestead was included, and he continued to render the services of a good citizen. His frequent election as a fire warden suggests that he lived at some distance from the central part of the town, and there is evidence that his homestead was beyond the Stewart farms and in the southwest part of the town. He was not permitted to advise or serve in the Revolution. He died April 6, 1775. Nine children:

I. Eunice, born Lancaster, January 19, 1738-9, died February 13, 1738-9.

II. John, born Lancaster, January 3, 1739-40. (See forward.)

III. Zephaniah, born Lancaster, December 26, 1741. He enlisted from Lunenburg in the spring of 1759 in Col. Oliver Wilder's regiment and died in the service.

IV. Stephen, born Lunenburg, March 8, 1743-4. He settled in Wilton, New Hampshire, where he died October 16, 1816. He married Phebe Keyes, daughter of John and Abigail (Livermore) Keyes. Among their descendants are Sally (Buss) Harwood, wife of Kilburn Harwood, late of this city, and the Honorable George A. Marden, of the *Lowell Courier*, and a former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

V. Silas, born Lunenburg, May 27, 1746, lived in Wilton. His descendants are numerous.

VI. Eunice, born Lunenburg, September 27, 1748.

VII. Aaron, born Lunenburg, March 27, 1751.

VIII. Millicent, born Lunenburg, August 22, 1753.

IX. Jonathan, born Lunenburg, December 30, 1756.

JOHN BUSS, JR., a son of John and Eunice Buss, was born in Lancaster, January 3, 1739-40. In his childhood his parents removed to Lunenburg, now Fitchburg. He married in Fitchburg, January 1, 1767, Mary Wood, a daughter of David and Mary (Hovey) Wood. He was a soldier from Fitchburg in the Revolution, and in 1780, or within one year of that date, he removed from Fitchburg to Marlborough, New Hampshire. Five children were born in Fitchburg and three in Marlborough.

I. Zephaniah, born October 26, 1767.

II. John, born May 6, 1770.

III. Silas, born January 20, 1773.

IV. David, born February 30, (sic) 1775.

V. Daniel, born March 30, 1778.

VI. Mary, born July 27, 1781.

VII. Pamela, born June 30, 1788.

VIII. Eunice, born November 30, 1790.

JOHN WHITE, a son of Josiah Jr. and Abigail (Whitcomb) White, was born in Lancaster, April 10, 1729. He was a descendant in the fourth generation of John White of Wenham and Lancaster, the generations being John⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², John¹. His father, Josiah White, Jr., deeded him the farm located by Mr. Willis, November 3, 1752. He married in Lunenburg, February 22, 1753, Mary Whitney, born September 28, 1728, a daughter of Moses and Elizabeth Whitney and a sister of Ephraim Whitney who married Jane Bancroft. He lived a useful citizen in Fitchburg until 1773, when he sold his farm and removed to Canaan, Maine. He died January 20, 1815. His wife, Mary, died September 15, 1793. Six children.

I. Lydia, born March 5, 1755, married December 9, 1776, Edward Hartwell. They lived in Lunenburg until 1780, when they removed to Canaan, Maine. Thirteen children and very many descendants. He died March 30, 1844. She died April 21, 1837.

II. Betty, born March 19, 1757, married April 14, 1774, Dea. Ephraim Kimball, born February 15, 1752, son

of Ephraim and Mary (Wetherbee) Kimball. He lived in Fitchburg. He was an able, useful man. He died May 6, 1825; she died July 26, 1844. They had fourteen children. Their descendants bearing many names are numerous and are filling honorable stations in Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire.

III. Salmon, born June 5, 1759. Died.

IV. Salmon, born April 3, 1761, married Nancy Springer. He lived in Canaan, Maine. He was a captain. He died April 21, 1837. His widow died October 6, 1845. Eight children. Among their descendants are several ministers of good repute.

V. Mary, born September 17, 1763, married Samuel Weston, and lived in Canaan, where she died January 26, 1741. Thirteen children. Their grandson, Abner Coburn, was governor of Maine, 1862.

VI. John, born Fitchburg, May 15, 1766, lived in Canaan. He married Mary Fowler, who died October 3, 1841. He died April 20, 1858. Eight children. Several of their descendants married descendants of the Stewart families who removed from Fitchburg to Canaan.

EZRA WHITNEY, a son of John and Rebecca (Whitney) Whitney, was born in Shirley, August 24, 1731. He removed to Fitchburg about 1758, or six years before the date of incorporation. In 1761 his father gave him a deed of a tract of land containing sixty-six acres, described by Mr. Willis as opposite the estate of Dr. Jabez Fisher. He was the first occupant of the premises, and here he built a farm house and converted many acres of wild and forest land into a productive farm. In 1764 he was chosen a fire warden. July 29, 1766, he deeded the farm to Jacob Puffer, then of Templeton, but subsequently of Fitchburg. The deed conveyed a mansion house and sixty-six acres of upland and meadow. Soon after the sale of his farm he removed to Rockingham, Vermont, where he lived many years. In 1790 he was living in Athens, Vermont. He married Agnes Ross, and they had seven or more children. Two were born in Shirley, and the names are illegible. Two or more were born in Fitchburg. The three youngest

were baptized at Rockingham, September 1, 1776, which was soon after the organization of a church in that town.

- I. —, born Shirley, May 16, 1756.
- II. —, born Shirley, December 18, 1757.
- III. Ezra, born in Fitchburg, November 29, 1760. He lived in Rockingham, Vermont.
- IV. Rebecca, born Fitchburg, January 2, 1762.
- V. Moses.
- VI. Agnes.
- VII. Lucretia.

The Whitney Genealogy erroneously states that Ezra Whitney, son of Dea. James and Martha (Rice) Whitney, married Agnes Ross and lived a short time in Fitchburg.

EPHRAIM OSBORN, a son of Ephraim and Elizabeth (Ireland) Osborn, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, September 24, 1731. His mother was a sister of Lieutenant Abraham Ireland of Lunenburg. In the French and Indian war he was a soldier from Lunenburg, 1757, in Capt. Thomas Wilder's company, and in Capt. James Reed's company. In the Revolution he served one or more enlistments. For a record of his marriage, the names of his children, and the location of his homestead, see the article by Mr. Willis.

STEWART. Of the two families of this name who were early residents of Lunenburg, only one has been represented in Fitchburg. William Stewart (or Stuart), who married in Lunenburg, Nov. 10, 1736, Margaret Saunderson, removed about 1750 from Lunenburg to Peterborough, New Hampshire, where he died March 15, 1753. One son was slain in the French and Indian war, and three sons lived and died in Peterborough.

Solomon Stewart (or Steward) came to Lunenburg in 1737. It has been stated, and quite generally accepted, that Solomon and William were brothers, and that both were Scotch-Irish immigrants to this country. Mr. George S. Stewart, an accomplished genealogist and a descendant of this Lunenburg family, has established the record beyond dispute that Solomon Stewart was of the third

American generation and not a relative of William Stewart of Lunenburg and Peterborough.

Solomon Stewart, a son of James and a grandson of Duncan Stewart of Newbury and Rowley, was born in Rowley, July 24, 1698. He married at Andover, June 28, 1727, Martha Farrington, born 1702, a daughter of Edward and Martha (Brown) Farrington of Andover. He lived in the part of ancient Salem now Peabody until 1737, when he removed to Lunenburg, where he died February 28, 1758. His wife died November 1, 1777. He was an honest, intelligent man, and was esteemed by his townsmen. Five children were born before his removal, and three were born in Lunenburg. Of these five were residents of Fitchburg.

I. Benjamin, born January 26, 1728, married January 9, 1751-2, Rebecca Taylor. He lived in Lunenburg and there died February 26, 1815. Two children.

II. Solomon, born January 14, 1730. See Mr. Willis's article.

II. Phineas, born March 27, 1732. See Mr. Willis's article.

III. Daniel, born November 21, 1734, married March 14, 1757, Mary Ireland, born 1739, a daughter of Lieutenant Abraham and Ann (Bird) Ireland. He lived in Lunenburg and later in Fitchburg, where he died June 2, 1802. He did not remove to this town in season to be considered in an account of the families of Fitchburg at the date of incorporation. Eight children.

V. William, born March 14, 1737. See beyond.

VI. James, baptized Lunenburg, August 19, 1739. Died young.

VII. Mary, born Lunenburg, September 7, 1740, married Samuel Pierce, which see beyond.

VIII. Jacob, born in Lunenburg, April 22, 1743. He was baptized April 17, 1743. One date is wrong. It is probable that the town record of birth should be April 2, 1743. He was a resident of Fitchburg and was taxed here in 1764. He was evidently omitted in the list of residents by Mr. Torrey and Mr. Willis because he was not the head of a family, but he soon qualified for the dignity and honor of domestic rule. He married November

18, 1766, Elizabeth Pierce, born March 25, 1748, a daughter of Ephraim and Esther (Shedd) Pierce of Lunenburg. He lived in this town several years, and returned to Lunenburg, and later removed to Claremont, New Hampshire, where his wife died June 14, 1792. He was a soldier in the Revolution, enlisting at Lunenburg. They had six or more children.

WILLIAM STEWART, son of Solomon and Martha (Farrington) Stewart, was born in Salem, now Peabody, Massachusetts, March 14, 1737. In his infancy his parents removed to Lunenburg. He married July 25, 1758, Abigail Ireland, born March 8, 1740-1, a daughter of Lieutenant Abraham and Ann (Bird) Ireland, of Lunenburg. About four years before Lunenburg was divided he settled in the west part of the town now Fitchburg and here lived until 1780 when, in company with his brothers Solomon and Phineas, he removed from Fitchburg to Canaan, Maine. For the location of his homestead and the names of his children, see the record of Mr. Willis. This William, son of Solomon Stewart, sometimes had been confused with William, son of William Stewart of Peterborough. William Stewart, Jr., of Peterborough, died in 1771, while William Stewart of Fitchburg is named in our records until 1780.

CHARLES WILLARD, a son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Tarbell) Willard, was born in Harvard, Massachusetts, August 30, 1734. He married in Stoneham, Massachusetts, in December, 1762, Sarah Scollay, a daughter of Grover and Ann Scollay. In the record of marriage he is styled Charles Willard of Harvard. In the French and Indian War he served in 1757 in a company of troopers. He is included in the list of residents by Torrey and not included by Willis. He became a permanent resident of Fitchburg during the year 1764, but was not here on the day of incorporation of the town. He was first taxed in 1765. On several occasions he was elected to office and was one of the school committee in 1784. He was one of the early Baptists of this town and was excused from paying taxes for the support of Rev. John Payson. Charles and Sarah (Scollay) Willard had five children:

- I. Sarah, born March 26, 1764.
- II. John, born March 24, 1766.
- III. Joseph, born February 15, 1768.
- IV. Anne, born November 21, 1770.
- V. Josiah, born September 4, 1773.

JOHN SCOTT was a Scotch-Irish emigrant who came to Lunenburg about 1732 and here lived until his death in 1756. He was born in the north of Ireland, 1702. He married in Boston, March 21, 1729, Lydia Thwing. She was born July 20, 1706, and died in Fitchburg, August 26, 1792. In the company of Capt. James Reed in Col. Timothy Ruggles's regiment in 1756 there were twenty men from Lunenburg, and of these John Scott, Jonas Tarbell, Thomas Brown and John Harriman were killed in action or died of disease. On the company roll the four men are marked, "dead." His will, dated June 7, 1745, was probated December 20, 1756. In the will mention is made of his wife Lydia and children Abraham, Edward, Mary, Benjamin, David and Jonathan. His daughter Elizabeth was born after the will was written. His homestead was later owned and occupied by his son Edward and the location is clearly defined by Mr. Willis. John Scott died nearly eight years before Fitchburg was incorporated. He was one of the first settlers in this town. Eight children.

- I. John, born in Boston, October 13, 1730. Died young.
- II. Abraham, no record of his birth is found.
- III. Edward, born in Lunenburg, May 21, 1734. See the notice by Mr. Willis. Elizabeth, his first wife, died August 15, 1780. He married, second, October 22, 1781, Mary (Whitney) Gibbs, born May 29, 1744, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Fletcher) Whitney and widow of Elijah Gibbs, all of Westminster.
- IV. Mary, born Lunenburg, March 23, 1736.
- V. Benjamin, born Lunenburg, April 21, 1739.
- VI. David, born Lunenburg, April 1, 1742.
- VII. Jonathan, born Lunenburg, October 1, 1744.
- VIII. Elizabeth, born Lunenburg, August 3, 1747.

THOMAS DEMARY, who was introduced by Mr. Torrey in his list of residents in 1764, has been a puzzle many

years to the students of local history. The name of Thomas Demary is not found in the records of Lunenburg or Fitchburg, nor as a grantee or grantor of any real estate in this vicinity. There was a John Demary who lived a few years in the part of Lunenburg now Fitchburg, and who lived exactly where Torrey has located Thomas Demary. It is evident that Mr. Torrey was confused concerning the Christian name, and that we must accept John Demary as a temporary resident here and excuse Thomas Demary from further service.

JOHN DEMARY, a son of Thomas and Hannah (Newcomb) Demary, was born in Boston, about 1728. He married in Wilmington, May 24, 1750, Rebecca Corneille, born June 7, 1728, a daughter of Peter and Rebecca Corneille of Billerica and Wilmington. Both were of French ancestry, and were of the third generation of their families in America. At the date of his marriage John Demary and his wife settled in Fitchburg, then a part of Lunenburg. He lived on the old Lunenburg road, east of the Jesse French homestead, and not far west of the present town line. They were admitted to the church in Lunenburg by letter from the church in Billerica, September 1, 1751. He removed to Rindge, New Hampshire, in 1763, a few months before Fitchburg was incorporated, but he did not sell his homestead until May 7, 1764, when he deeded the premises to Jonathan Holt, whom Mr. Willis locates in the same locality. For additional record, see History of Rindge.

PHINEAS GOODALE (or Goodell), named in the Torrey list of residents, was a son of Benjamin and Hannah Goodale, and was born in Marlborough, Mass., May 1, 1713. He married, 1733, Rebecca Bruce of Woburn. In 1754 he served in Captain Melvin's company of the Shirley Expedition. He marched from Concord, Mass., May 30, 1754. He was taxed 1764, and disappears from our records.

The earliest tax list of Fitchburg, the list of 1764, contains the names of fourteen persons not included in the Torrey or in the Willis exhibit. Some of these were young

unmarried men who did not occupy a homestead and without doubt were intelligently and purposely omitted. Two or more were living in the corner of Fitchburg which in 1767 was included in Ashby, and a few were temporary residents who were here only one or two years. The names of the fourteen are:

1. JONATHAN WARES. See notice of family of Robert Wares.

2. JACOB STEWART. See family of Solomon Stewart in this article.

3. THADDEUS HARRINGTON, born in Lexington, September 9, 1736, a son of Richard and Abigail Harrington, married in Lunenburg, April 6, 1758, Thankful Dodge, born July 6, 1736, a daughter of Noah and Margaret Dodge. He lived in Fitchburg before and a short time after the town was severed from Lunenburg. He removed to Shirley and was a soldier from that town in the Revolution. He was a brother of Ebenezer Harrington, who married Martha Witt, a daughter of Isaiah Witt.

4. SAMUEL SAUNDERSON, a son of Abraham and Patience (Smith) Saunderson of Lunenburg, was born April 26, 1734. He married in Lunenburg, December 27, 1759, Sarah Gould, born April 6, 1735, a daughter of Jacob and Dorothy (Goodrich) Gould. He was here in 1764, but did not long remain here.

5. PAUL FITCH, a son of John and Susannah (Gates) Fitch, was born in Lunenburg, January 4, 1741-2. He was living with his father and was taxed in Fitchburg, 1764. He was one of the five children of John Fitch who suffered captivity in 1748. He married in Billerica, July 9, 1767, Mary Jaquith, born Billerica, June 26, 1747, a daughter of Abraham and Hannah (Farley) Jaquith. She was a sister of the wife of Nicholas Danforth and of Abraham and Benjamin Jaquith, at one time residents of Fitchburg. Paul Fitch lived in Fitchburg 1764 to 1767 and in Ashby until 1770, when he removed to Lancaster. In 1775 he removed to Rindge and later lived in Peterborough, Jaffrey and Marlborough. He was a soldier from Rindge in the Revolution. His wife died in Jaffrey, February 18,

1800. He married second, January 7, 1802, Joanna (Pierce) Walker, born in Concord, Massachusetts, May 15, 1745, a daughter of Ebenezer and Joanna (Townsend) Pierce and widow of Samuel Walker of Rindge. He died in Marlborough, May 2, 1818, Paul and Mary Fitch had nine children.

6. THOMAS STEARNS, a son of Samuel and Sarah (Burnap) Stearns, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, December 22, 1717. He married in Lynn, November 4, 1740, Lydia Mansfield, born Lynn, January 4, 1718, a daughter of Daniel and Joanna (Burrage) Mansfield. He lived in Lynn until 1744, when he removed to Lunenburg. He was taxed in Fitchburg, 1764. His homestead was within the limits of this town. Not many years after 1764, he removed to Leominster, where he died February 5, 1811. His wife died February 26, 1791. Two children who died young were born in Lynn. The births of seven other children are recorded in Lunenburg, and to these add Timothy, born April 4, 1759, and Anna, born April 25, 1762. He was a soldier in the French and Indian War.

In the limits of this paper we cannot speak of his numerous descendants, and mention is made of only one of his sons.

Rev. Charles Stearns, born here July 19, 1753, graduated at Harvard University in the class of 1773. He was ordained and installed over the church in Lincoln, Massachusetts, November 7, 1781. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and joined with his ministerial labor he conducted the famous classical school of Lincoln. He received from Harvard the degree of D. D. in 1810. He preached his last sermon only a few days before his death. He died July 26, 1826. Some member of our society will find ample material in his life-work and ready inspiration in his ability and character for a sketch of this brilliant son of Fitchburg.

7. EPHRAIM GIBSON, a son of Abraham and Mary (Wheeler) Gibson, was born in Stow, June 21, 1740. He married, 1761, Lucy Wyman, born in Lunenburg, December 15, 1741, a daughter of Ezekiel and Abigail (Wyman) Wyman. At the time of his marriage he settled in Lunen-

burg. His homestead was near the residence of John Fitch and in the part of Lunenburg which was included in Fitchburg, and in 1767 included in Ashby. He died in Ashby about 1725; his widow died April 18, 1829. They had no children.

From the incorporation of Fitchburg until the incorporation of Ashby, he was a married man residing in this town. Torrey did not include John Fitch and Ephraim Gibson, whose estates were severed from Fitchburg and included in Ashby in 1767.

8. STEPHEN GIBSON, a son of Stephen and Sarah (Goss) Gibson, was born in Stow, March 29, 1745. He married April 15, 1766, Rebecca Puffer. He was taxed in Fitchburg, 1764, and lived here until the incorporation of Ashby. He was a member of the church of Fitchburg several years. Mr. Gibson embraced the Baptist faith and became a preacher. His connection with the church in Fitchburg was dissolved in 1783. He frequently preached in school-houses and last in the meeting-house which was in Fitchburg, but near the line of Ashby. He died February 3, 1812. His wife was a daughter of Capt. Jabez and Hannah (Treadway) Puffer of Sudbury. She was born February 21, 1748, died October 7, 1815. Dr. Stillman Gibson of New Ipswich, was their son and the wife of Charles H. Brown, senior, is their great-granddaughter.

9. ABRAHAM FARWELL, a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Moors) Farwell, was born in Groton, August 18, 1743. He was taxed in Fitchburg, 1764. He was a soldier in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, 1775, school committee and highway surveyor from 1777 to 1790. He was an esteemed and competent citizen. He married in 1770, intentions recorded July 14, 1770, Priscilla Thurston, a daughter of Dea. John and Hepsibah (Burpee) Thurston. She died December 30, 1837. Eight children. The record of their birth is found in the printed records of Fitchburg.

10. GEORGE HEWITT (commonly written Huit) was a roving character. He was among the first settlers of Rindge, and lived there 1752-1764. He married in Lunenburg, October 2, 1760, Tryphena Hodgkins and removed in 1764 to Fitchburg. George Huit, wife Tryphena and child-

ren Sarah and Eunice were warned by the constable of Fitchburg, November 5, 1764. Later he lived in Ashby.

11. SAMUEL FOSTER, of Boxford, married in Pepperell, November 24, 1748, Jane Boynton, born May 13, 1722, a daughter of Daniel and Jemima (Brown) Boynton of Groton. He was taxed in 1764.

12. WILLIAM HODGKINS, was here at the date of the incorporation of the town. He removed to New Ipswich, and his tax for 1767 was abated. He married in New Ipswich, Elizabeth (Foster) Fletcher, born 1741, a daughter of Abijah Foster and widow of John Fletcher. He died 1804; she died February 27, 1800. Six children.

13. WILLIAM COX was taxed 1764, and he was elected to a minor town office 1767.

14. JOSEPH HARPER was taxed 1764, and is not named again in the records of Fitchburg.

Any record of the founders of Fitchburg is not complete without notice of William Downe, the foremost man of his time. He died before the incorporation of the town, but his conspicuous service has been renewed in the ability and character of his sons and his descendants to the present day.

WILLIAM DOWNE, a son of William and Sarah (Danforth) Downe, was born in Boston, May 16, 1719. He graduated at Harvard University in the class of 1738. He married in Boston, March 12, 1740, Margaret Fitch, born in Boston March 14, 1722-3, a daughter of Joseph and Margaret (Clark) Fitch. She was a sister of the second wife of Thomas Dutton. After his marriage he lived in Boston a few years, a short time in Cambridge, and removed to this town in 1745 or 1746. He lived in the part of Lunenburg now Fitchburg. His house was on or very near the site of the present American House. He was one of the most prominent and capable men of his time and was frequently employed in town affairs. He was a selectman of Lunenburg 1752 and 1755, town clerk 1753 and 1754, and the clerk of the proprietors of Rindge, New Hampshire. He was a magistrate and one of the Justices of the County Court of Sessions. He solemnized several marriages. He

died May 6, 1759, or nearly five years before the incorporation of Fitchburg. He was buried with his kindred in the Granary burial ground at Boston. By birth and by marriage he was connected with prominent families of Boston. His father was Colonel William Downe, born 1686, who was the commander of a regiment of Colonial Militia and commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. He died in Boston, June 3, 1753.

EARLY REAL ESTATE OWNERS IN FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, February 16, 1903.

BY HARRISON BAILEY, ESQ.

If each owner of real estate situated in that portion of the city on the north side of the river that extends along the river from near the end of Prichard street to Phillips brook, West Fitchburg, and as far back on the hills to the northeast and north as Simonds street, Arlington street, and Westminster Hill road, should trace his title back to 1773, all would find a common grantor in Elias Haskell. This is also true of a large tract of land on the south side of the river. In December of that year, Andrew Oliver of Salem, Mass., conveyed to Mr. Haskell two tracts of land containing in all 1566 acres, for the consideration of £775, then equal to about \$2500, or about \$1.50 per acre. The first tract, containing 712 acres, is situated south of the river. It apparently included Mt. Elam and vicinity. The second tract is the one above referred to, situated on the north side of the river, and contained 854 acres.

The description of the boundaries begins "at stake and stones and bunch of Wish hazel near Steward's Mills and near the Meeting house." The meeting-house was then on or near what is now Crescent street, and Steward's mills on or near Mill street, for I find a conveyance in 1777 from Solomon Steward to William Brown of a one-half interest in the grist mill and saw mill and mill yard, which was subsequently conveyed to Joseph Fox. The bunch of "Wish hazel," however, must have been about where the dam in the river now is, just above the lumber-yard of the Webber Lumber Co. There were no buildings nearer to the point of beginning in any direction than the meeting-house and Steward's mills. In those

days, landmarks in the shape of buildings were few and far apart, and apparently, anything within a half mile of the meeting-house was called "nigh."

Now, applying the lines given in the deed to present landmarks, the boundary lines run about as follows, viz.: From the hazel bush easterly to about the outlet of Punch brook at Cowdin's land; thence northerly on Cowdin land to about Adams street; thence easterly to Mt. Vernon street; thence up Mt. Vernon street to Simonds street, all these lines being on Cowdin's land; thence westerly, on land then of Joseph Lowe, following the general direction of Simonds street, and passing about one hundred feet northerly of Arlington street on land then of Edward Hartwell, crossing Ashburnham Hill road below the junction with Williams road, and keeping above Westminster Hill road, running on land then of Thurston and land then of Sawyer, to Phillips brook, crossing the brook above Greene & Sheddons ice pond, and returning to the river; thence down the river, making a short cut across the bend from near Parkhill Mill C, and meeting the river again near Parkhill Mill A, and thence to point of beginning.

Mr. Haskell also owned at this time 271 acres in the north part of the town including Dean Hill, which was conveyed to him by the same Andrew Oliver, February 24, 1771, and which he subsequently sold to Jacob Upton on March 28, 1777, making in all 1800 acres of land in Fitchburg that he owned in December, 1773.

This was nearly ten years after the town was incorporated, and yet, this large tract of land, 850 acres, extending right along the river on this side, including what is now the heart of the city, appears to have been without a dwelling-house thereon, covered with a heavy growth of pitch-pine trees, and unimproved, except by the highway to Ashburnham, which was in about the present course of Main street, Prospect street and Flat Rock road. It does not appear to have been taxed until 1767, when Mr. Oliver, a non-resident, then the owner of the land, was taxed 3 pounds, 19 shillings and 8 pence.

The farms were then located back upon the hills, where the farmers felt more secure against the attacks both of Jack Frost and Indians.

The Nashua river was regarded by the inhabitants as a pestiferous little stream, that each year washed away its bridges and made an annual expense to the town in repairing them, and they had no use for it. Indeed, at the time the town was set off from Lunenburg, the opponents of the project prophesied that the new town would not prosper financially because of making and repairing bridges.

Mr. Haskell came to Fitchburg from Harvard, where he kept a store in the village of Still River. This store was sold by him to John Monroe in 1773, and very likely the proceeds of that sale were invested in Fitchburg land, as it was in December, 1773, that he purchased of Andrew Oliver. Within a few years thereafter, Mr. Haskell had disposed of all or nearly all of the land by cutting it up into sections and selling it at an advanced price for farms. Nevertheless, it proved an unprofitable transaction, owing to the rapid depreciation of the currency then in use.

Mr. Torrey, in his history of Fitchburg, says: "Mr. Haskell, by selling lots and loaning his money, was reputed to be very rich; but he was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune. He was compelled to receive his pay in the pernicious paper currency of the time, which depreciated so rapidly that it soon came to be but little better than so much brown paper. He afterwards purchased a small, sandy farm in the northwesterly part of Lancaster, where he lived some years, and died in poverty."

Mr. Andrew Oliver, Mr. Haskell's predecessor in title to all this land, lived in Salem. He was known as Judge Oliver, being a judge of the Essex County Court, and was a man of some note, being one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His father, Hon. Andrew Oliver, was a noted man, having served as secretary of the province and as lieutenant governor. The charter of the town bears his signature as secretary. He was prominently associated with Governor Hutchinson in the enforcement of the Stamp Act, being the agent appointed to enforce the same. Such was his unpopularity, due to the character of his office rather than that of the man, that he was burned in effigy by an excited people,

and in later years his remains were followed to the grave by a threatening and noisy rabble.

The mother of Judge Oliver was Mary Fitch, daughter of Col. Thomas Fitch, of Boston, who was married to Hon. Andrew Oliver, June 20, 1728, and it was by the will of his grandfather, Thomas Fitch, that his grandson, Judge Oliver, acquired title to the three large tracts of land conveyed by him to Mr. Haskell.

Thomas Fitch, born in Boston, February 5, 1668, was a wealthy merchant of that city, and prominent in public affairs, having served as selectman, as representative, magistrate and councillor. He was first cousin to the father of John Fitch, after whom Fitchburg is reputed to have been named. He was a large owner of real estate throughout the province, and at his decease, in 1736, he left, as part of his estate, over 2000 acres of land in that part of Lunenburg that was subsequently set off as the town of Fitchburg. By his will, which is on file in the Suffolk County Probate Court, he gave all the residue and remainder of his estate to his daughter, Mrs. Martha Allen, and his grandson, who is called in the will "Andrew Oliver, alias Thomas Fitch Oliver."

The real estate included in the residue given by his will was divided by commissioners appointed by the superior court, and they set off to "Andrew Oliver, alias Thomas Fitch Oliver," all the land in Lunenburg, consisting of 2078 acres, by them appraised at £3000. The same land was appraised at £2200 in the inventory of the estate filed a year or two previously; so there was apparently, during the intervening time, a rise in value of the real estate or a depreciation of the currency, probably the latter. This report of the commissioners was not filed in the registry of deeds, but is on file with the probate papers in the Suffolk County Probate Court. It is dated November 15, 1738, and signed by Henry Lee, Samuel Willard, Benjamin Flagg and Daniel Deney, who style themselves "Dividers."

Mr. Oliver, Jr., was then only seven years old, and the title to this land remained in his name until he conveyed to Mr. Haskell in 1773, with the exception of a portion conveyed to Samuel Hunt, June 4, 1756. When

Fitchburg was incorporated in 1764, this large tract of land of over 2000 acres, being more than one-ninth of the whole area of the new town, belonged to a grandson of Thomas Fitch, known as Thomas Fitch Oliver, and very likely for a long time after the death of Thomas Fitch, this land was known as the Fitch estate.

The father of Thomas Fitch Oliver was Andrew Oliver, at that time secretary of the province, and brother-in-law (by his second marriage), to Thomas Hutchinson, then lieutenant governor and chief justice of the Superior Court, and we may assume he was a man of influence at the state house.* It is a matter of record, often referred to, that within nine days after the town had passed a vote to apply for the incorporation of the new town the act had passed the legislature, and received the signature of the governor. Do not the above facts as to the parties interested suggest that the Fitch-Oliver interest was a potent factor in securing such prompt action upon the petition, and may it not be that the selection of John Fitch as chairman of the committee to present the petition to the legislature was because of his relationship to influential parties who were interested in this project? And do not the same facts throw a new light on the question—why was the town called Fitchburg?

Most of you are familiar with the discussion of the question, and know that while it has been the generally accepted opinion that the town was named after John Fitch, yet claims have been made in behalf of Zachariah Fitch and Col. Timothy Fitch; but did you ever know or hear of Thomas Fitch's name in this connection? It seems to me that the name of Thomas Fitch and his large ownership of real estate in Fitchburg have been overlooked in past discussions, and that this has been the cause of some misapprehension. Timothy Fitch is mentioned by Mr. Torrey in his history of Fitchburg written in 1836. He therein says: "It is the general report that the town was named in honor of John Fitch, who was

*The mother of Hon. Andrew Oliver was the sister of Gov. Belcher, a fact that indicates another potent influence commanded by the Fitch estate.

the first man on the committee appointed to procure the act of incorporation, and was the same individual taken captive by the Indians in 1748. Some people think that the town was named in honor of Col. Timothy Fitch, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who owned extensive tracts of land in the town, and was considered in those days a man of note and distinction." He then goes on to show that John Fitch never held any but minor offices in the gift of the town, and that many in the town were held in higher esteem, and concludes as follows: "But whether the town was named in honor of this individual, or the above named Col. Fitch, is a point which will probably remain forever in obscurity. This is a circumstance not a little surprising, when it is considered how recently the town received the name, and that there are people now living who remember the event perfectly well."

There was a Timothy Fitch, a wealthy merchant, living in Boston at that time, who later moved to Medford, and there died in 1790, but he does not appear to have ever lived in or owned any real estate in Fitchburg, whereas Thomas Fitch fills the specification in all particulars. Therefore, is it not most probable that Mr. Torrey made a mistake in name, and that the person intended, if not by him, at least by those who made the claim, was Col. Thomas Fitch, instead of Col. Timothy Fitch? If Fitchburg was named in honor of any particular individual, certainly a plausible argument can be made in favor of Thomas Fitch, much more so than in behalf of Zachariah Fitch; but in view of all the facts now known, it seems to me more probable that the name Fitchburg was selected, not in honor of any particular person, but rather as a natural result of the large Fitch interest then involved, and of the public association of the name Fitch with the location.

John Fitch, chairman of the committee, whose name had already given some fame to this locality by reason of his brave defense of his garrison and his capture by the Indians, owned a large section of land in the north part of the town, and the heirs of Thomas Fitch owned a large part of the central portion of the town, which very likely had been known for a long time as the Fitch estate

or Fitch land. From Fitch land to Fitchburg was an easy transition, and the name Fitchburg was a natural suggestion, and one which, however suggested, must have met the ready acceptance of the chairman of the committee as well as that of the persons whose influence we assume was an important factor in securing the act of incorporation, viz., Judge Thomas Fitch Oliver, his father, Secretary Oliver, and the latter's brother-in-law, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson. This supposition would account for the apparent obscurity of this question,—In whose honor was Fitchburg named?—even among people living in 1836, who, as stated by Mr. Torrey, remembered the event perfectly well.

I have not as yet been able to find a record of all the conveyances by which Thomas Fitch acquired title to all of the real estate inventoried as part of his estate, but I have found five deeds on record conveying in all 1147 acres, viz.:

One from Benjamin Prescott, dated December 23, 1731, conveying 320 acres.

One from Robert Fyfe, dated December 23, 1731, conveying 300 acres.

One from William Jones, dated April 19, 1736, conveying 235 acres.

One from Henry Lee, dated January 14, 1729, conveying 200 acres.

One from Jonathan Willard, dated November 26, 1734, conveying 92 acres.

The description in the latter deed is brief, and as it may be of some peculiar interest because of its quaint expressions and reference to Rollstone Hill, I will give it in full. It is as follows, viz.: "A certain tract of land situate Lying and being in Lunenburg, near to Role Stone Hill, in the County of Worcester, containing by estimation 92 acres be it more or less butted and bounded as follows, viz, northerly, easterly and northwesterly on the land of the Honorable Thomas Fitch aforesaid and southeasterly on Common land, or however otherwise bounded or Reputed to be bounded." This description is rather indefinite and hard to locate, but no more so than many a deed since written.

I hope, after further search, to be able to complete the title acquired by Thomas Fitch, and definitely locate all of the lands, but in the meantime, I assure you that you need not be concerned lest the title to the respective lots of land that may be owned by you shall prove defective.

GENERAL JAMES REED.

Read at a meeting of the Society, December 18, 1899.

BY JAMES F. D. GARFIELD.

In each of the older cemeteries of this city repose the remains of Revolutionary soldiers, whose graves have, through the liberality of the president of this society, been appropriately marked with the distinguishing symbol of the Sons of the American Revolution.

In one of these marked graves rest the remains of General James Reed, the subject of this paper, who died in Fitchburg, February 13, 1807, and whose place of burial is near the easterly entrance to Laurel Hill cemetery.

General James Reed was from a distinguished family; he was born in Woburn, Mass., January 8, 1722-3, and was the eighth of the ten children of Thomas and Sarah (Sawyer) Reed. His father, known as Lieut. Thomas Reed, died August 18, 1736; his mother died January 21, 1737-8. Lieut. Thomas Reed was a son of George and Hannah (Rockwell) Reed, and a grandson of William Reed, the immigrant, who with wife Mabel (Kendall), sailed from London July, 1635, arrived in Boston in October the same year, and in 1648 settled in Woburn. From the time of William Reed's settlement there the ancestors of James Reed were residents of Woburn, and his birth and parentage, as here given, are fully sustained by the records of that town.*

Very little is known of the youth and early manhood of James Reed. He married Abigail Hinds of New Salem, Mass., and first settled in Brookfield in this county. He afterwards removed to the centre of Lunenburg where he was an innholder for several years, although by trade he

* In the "Reed Genealogy" it is asserted that Gen. James Reed was a son of Joseph and Sarah (Rice) Reed, and was born in Woburn in 1724. The error has been repeated in several later publications.

was a tailor. The records at Brookfield and at Lunenburg show his connection with the church in both of those places. He was admitted to full communion in the Lunenburg church April 7, 1751, and it is probable that his removal from Brookfield was in the early part of the same year.

He is described as a man of ordinary height, well built and very active, care-taking and energetic. That he was a tailor by trade is shown by his company roll in which the occupation of each man is given; and that he was an innholder at Lunenburg appears from a petition by the selectmen of that town for a license as innholder to Joshua Hutchins, "in place of Captain James Reed who is now going into His Majesty's service." The location of his inn was on the westerly side of the common, the site so many years later occupied for the same purpose.

He remained a resident of Lunenburg till late in 1764 or the early part of 1765, when he moved his family to Monadnoc No. 4, now Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. He was a selectman of Lunenburg in 1763 and 1764. In a deed dated March 4, 1765, he is styled "of Lunenburg," although he had spent some time at Fitzwilliam during the previous year. He was paid for labor and supervision in building roads in that town in 1764,—eighty and one-half days, and for still longer periods during the two following years.

In 1768 he had become the owner of over three thousand acres of land in Fitzwilliam, and had erected a large and commodious two-story house—the first frame house erected in the town—with a large barn and stable. The buildings were located about a mile northwesterly of the present centre village, and the house was kept by him for some years as an inn. Many of the Proprietors' meetings were held in it, as well as most of the religious services of the settlers previous to the erection of the first meeting-house. The ordination of the first minister of Fitzwilliam, Rev. Benjamin Brigham, also took place under its roof. Captain Reed was moderator of the Proprietors' meeting, November 14, 1769, which was the first meeting held in the new township; and he was Proprietors' clerk



GEN. JAMES REED.

was a tailor. The records at Brookfield and at Lunenburg show his connection with the church in both of those places. He was admitted to full communion in the Lunenburg church April 7, 1751, and it is probable that his removal from Brookfield was in the early part of the same year.

He is described as a man of ordinary height, well built and very active, care-taking and energetic. That he was a tailor by trade is shown by his company roll in which the occupation of each man is given; and that he was an innholder at Lunenburg appears from a petition by the selectmen of that town for a license as innholder to Joshua Hutchins, "in place of Captain James Reed who is now going into His Majesty's service." The location of his inn was on the westerly side of the common, the site so many years later occupied for the same purpose.

He remained a resident of Lunenburg till late in 1764 or the early part of 1765, when he moved his family to Monadnoc No. 4, now Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. He was a selectman of Lunenburg in 1763 and 1764. In a deed dated March 4, 1765, he is styled "of Lunenburg," although he had spent some time at Fitzwilliam during the previous year. He was paid for labor and supervision in building roads in that town in 1764,—eighty and one-half days, and for still longer periods during the two following years.

In 1768 he had become the owner of over three thousand acres of land in Fitzwilliam, and had erected a large and commodious two-story house—the first frame house erected in the town—with a large barn and stable. The buildings were located about a mile northwesterly of the present centre village, and the house was kept by him for some years as an inn. Many of the Proprietors' meetings were held in it, as well as most of the religious services of the settlers previous to the erection of the first meeting-house. The ordination of the first minister of Fitzwilliam, Rev. Benjamin Brigham, also took place under its roof. Captain Reed was moderator of the Proprietors' meeting, November 14, 1769, which was the first meeting held in the new township; and he was Proprietors' clerk



GEN. JAMES REED.



from that time till 1776. His name appears as a member of all the most important committees that shaped the action of the people of the new settlement in establishing their civil and religious institutions.

His military career commenced in 1755, when he served in a campaign against the French and Indians in the vicinity of Lake George, in which he commanded a company of Provincial troops in the regiment under Col. Josiah Brown; and from that time on until the peace of 1762 he was engaged much of the time in the same service.

In the Massachusetts archives at the state house there are many documents which relate to his service. The earliest which I have found bears date September 28, 1755, and contains a "List of names of the Men that are to join the Expedition to Crown Point, in the Regiment whereof Josiah Brown, Esq., is Colonel, which Company is under the command of Capt [Timothy Gibson] James Reed." The name Timothy Gibson in the heading to this roll is crossed out and that of James Reed written in,—and this probably marks the date of James Reed's commission as captain. The Timothy Gibson whom he succeeded in that office was a resident of Stow, Mass., and was the father of the Fitchburg Gibsons, Isaac and Reuben, who settled on Pearl Hill. The company was composed of forty-two men, all from Stow and Lunenburg. Among the twelve or fifteen Lunenburg names I recognize those of several from that part of the town afterwards set off as the town of Fitchburg, viz.: Edward Scott, Nehemiah Fuller, Phinehas and William Stewart, Ephraim Osborn and Samuel Peirce. Among the other Lunenburg names is that of Benoni Wallis, ancestor of Hon. Rodney Wallace, and also of Robert N. Wallis of this city.

The next paper is an acknowledgment from forty-six men under Capt. Reed in the expedition to Crown Point in 1756, as having received their billeting (or subsistence) to Albany. Among the names are those of William and Benjamin Scott, Jonathan White, Jonathan White, Jr., John Cummings, Samuel Hodgkins, Bradstreet Spafford, John Scott and Manasseh Litch, which appear to be Fitchburg names.

Then comes a roll dated Fort Edward, July 26, 1756, containing the names of thirty-three men, of whom sixteen are from Lunenburg—the others from adjoining or neighboring towns. In this document the occupations of the men are given; twenty-one were farmers, two were tailors (one of whom was Capt. Reed), two were clothiers, three blacksmiths, two carpenters, one shoemaker, one bricklayer, and one acknowledged himself to be a laborer. Twenty-eight of the number volunteered, five were hired, but none were drafted. The recording officer appears to have had a way of spelling all his own, and reports one man, a blacksmith from Townsend, as "Disarted."

Next is a roll dated Fort William Henry, October 11, 1756, numbering forty-five names, in which Captain Reed certifies that certain men were absent for no other reasons than those assigned, viz., sickness, death, etc. Certain entries in this document indicate that the company had been seeing hard service. Four men—William White, John Brown, Manasseh Litch and Jonas Tarbell are reported as dead; and thirteen are reported as sick, or absent for other cause.

Next comes a muster roll containing fifty names,—service performed from February 18, 1756, to December 22 of the same year. Of the fifty men, twenty-three were from Lunenburg, including the part now Fitchburg. Thomas Brown, John Harriman and John Scott, three Lunenburg men, are reported as dead. James Reed, as captain, made oath to the correctness of the roll.

A muster roll of Capt. Reed's company, containing sixty-six names of men who marched on an alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry—return dated January 8, 1758,—contains the names of Ephraim Osborn, Jonathan Wood, Jonathan Holt, William Steward, Samuel Hodgkins and other Fitchburg names.

Next is a roll of Capt. Reed's company, numbering seventy-eight names, with dates of enlistment from March 13 to May 22, 1758. The company marched on May 22, and formed a part of Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment of the army under Gen. Abercrombie, in the unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga, then held by the French under Gen. Montcalm.

Next, a muster roll of ninety names, bearing date February 13, 1760—of which twenty-nine of the men were from Lunenburg, seven from Leominster, thirty from Lancaster, seven from Narragansett No. 2, now Westminster, while Winchendon, Rindge and other places were represented by smaller numbers. The service was from March 31 to December 19, 1759,—thirty-seven weeks and five days.

Finally, a pay-roll of the company in His Majesty's service, under command of Capt. James Reed, from April 18, 1761, to January 1, 1762—thirty-seven weeks. Among the names in this roll were those of Samuel and Joseph Downe, sons of William Downe, Esq., living in the part of Lunenburg now Fitchburg. Capt. Reed also commanded a company in the campaign of the summer of 1762.

These successive rolls show the almost continuous service of Capt. Reed through the war from 1755 to 1762, when peace was declared between the two countries, France and England, and the hardy settlers could lay down their implements of warfare and return to their homes to engage in the arts of peace.

The mention of Col. Timothy Ruggles, of whose regiment Capt. Reed's company formed a part, reminds me that one of my own ancestors, Samuel Garfield of Spencer, was in the same regiment, though in a different company. Some old letters written by him while in the service have been preserved, and one or two brief extracts will give just a glimpse of the soldier's life of that day.

On the 10th of June he wrote to his family, dated "Flat Bush, 6 miles above Albany. We are now arrived at Hudson's river, and have had a tedious march through the woods." Under date "Fort Miller 22^d of June," he writes: "We expect to march immediately forward to the lake. There are about six thousand men here now, and provisions enough for fourteen thousand men six weeks, and a vast quantity more at Fort Edward." Again, under date of "Lake George, July ^{ye} 4th, when on the eve of embarking for the attack on Ticonderoga, he writes to his wife: "I received your letter dated ^{ye} 17th of June yesterday, and am glad to hear that you are all well. I have

been at work with the carpenters in the King's works ever since the 12th of June, and now our battoes are all loaded, and our orders are to embark for Ticonderoga tomorrow morning by break of day. I beg your prayers for me that I may be kept from all Evil, and especially from Sin, and in God's time be returned in Safety." His expectation to set sail on the morrow at break of day was fulfilled. History informs us that on the morning of July 5, 1758, which was Sunday, Abercrombie's whole army, consisting of nearly sixteen thousand men—nine thousand of whom were Provincials and the balance British regulars—embarked in bateaux and proceeded down the lake. Ticonderoga at this time was garrisoned by about four thousand men under Montcalm, who had strengthened his position in anticipation of an attack. On the morning of the 6th, Abercrombie landed his army at Sabbath Day Point, near the outlet of Lake George, and advanced through the dense woods and tangled morasses towards Ticonderoga. Suddenly his advance guard was attacked by a scouting party of French, and Lord Howe, second in command, and the most accomplished officer of the expedition, fell at the commencement of the action. The French were, however, repulsed, and Abercrombie, confident in the strength of superior numbers, pushed on to the attack. After an unsuccessful siege of two days a final effort was made, on the 8th, to scale the breastworks in the face of the enemy's fire; but, after a bloody conflict of four hours in a vain attempt to carry the works, Abercrombie fell back on Lake George, leaving almost two thousand men dead and wounded in the woods under the guns of the fort, or prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

Though Abercrombie's expedition was a failure, the campaign of 1758 as a whole was favorable to the English. During the next year Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Quebec fell in rapid succession, and the year 1760 saw all Canada subject to British rule. But little in detail can be given of Capt. Reed's services in these campaigns; but that his military career was creditable to himself and valuable to his country is indicated by his continuous service and by the increased number of men who volunteered from

year to year to serve in his command. The old French wars have been well characterized as a contest between Protestant England and Catholic France for supremacy in North America. They were, at the same time, the school in which our fathers acquired that knowledge of military science, and that experience in the art of war, which enabled them to enter upon the Revolutionary struggle and to prosecute it to a successful termination.

In 1769 Capt. Reed, in a petition for consideration by the Masonian proprietors and praying that none of his rights in Fitzwilliam be forfeited, alleges that he has done much service in the Colonial wars, and appends to his petition the following table:

- 1755. Captain in Col. Josiah Brown's regiment.
- 1756. Captain in Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment.
- 1758. Captain in Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment.
- 1759. Captain in Col. Timorhy Ruggles' regiment.
- 1761. Captain in Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment.
- 1755. Commission signed by Lieut. Gov. Spencer Phipps.
- 1756. Commission signed by Gov. William Shirley.
- 1758 and 1759. Commission signed by Gov. Thomas Pownall.
- 1761 and 1762. Commission signed by Gov. Francis Bernard.

In the interval of peace between the close of the war in 1762 and the opening of the Revolution, the military spirit was not allowed to slumber. It was important that an efficient organization of militia should be kept up in the colonies for their mutual protection. In 1770 Capt. Reed received a commission as lieutenant-colonel from the governor of the New Hampshire colony, and in 1775, upon receiving tidings of the battle of Lexington, he at once raised a company of volunteers and marched with them to Cambridge. He continued the work of enlisting, and on the first of June, 1775, was commissioned colonel of a regiment by the New Hampshire Provincial Assembly. He arrived at Cambridge at the head of his regiment on the 12th of June, and was at first ordered by Gen. Ward to find quarters at Medford, where Col. Stark was already stationed with the First New Hampshire regiment. Unable to find quarters there he again applied to Gen. Ward, who assigned him quarters in the houses near Charlestown Neck, with strict orders to keep all necessary

guards between the barracks, the ferry, and Bunker Hill. Here he found good quarters, and on the 14th issued regimental orders of a stringent character, indicating that the position was an important one and that vigilance was necessary for the safety of the command. These orders, and others issued on the 15th, are still preserved among the Revolutionary papers at the state house, and show him to have been a rigid disciplinarian.

On the 17th of June at the battle of Bunker Hill, Col. Reed stationed his regiment at the rail fence, at the left of the redoubt, where he was joined by Col. Stark, with his New Hampshire regiment still further to the left. The ready genius of Col. Reed designed the breastwork which, constructed by his men under fire of the enemy's batteries, so wonderfully preserved them from the disasters of the day. The parapet consisted in part of a stone wall, and in part of a double line of rail fence extending up the hillside from the Mystic river nearly to the redoubt, the space between the lines of fence being filled with hay found on the field.

The position at the rail fence is acknowledged to have been the hottest as well as the best fought portion of the field. Bancroft says: "The little handful of brave men" in the redoubt "would have been effectually cut off but for the unfaltering courage of the Provincials at the rail fence and the bank of the Mystic." They had repulsed the enemy twice, and now held them in check until the main body had left the hill; not till then did the brave New Hampshire soldiers quit the station which they had so nobly defended. After the redoubt had given way this heroic band slowly retreated, and Col. Reed was the last officer who left the field. He returned the number of his losses in the battle of the 17th as five killed and twenty-seven wounded.

When Washington assumed command of the army in July, following the battle of Bunker Hill, Col. Reed with his regiment was stationed at Winter Hill in Somerville. From this point a line of earth-works was thrown up extending through Cambridge to Dorchester. The works on Cobble Hill (now the site of the McLean Asylum) were erected by Gen. Putnam of Connecticut, and those on Mil-

ler's Hill in Cambridge were built by Col. Reed. Both forts were completed in a short time, and each had its own flag raised above its ramparts. Gen. Putnam's had on one side the motto, "An Appeal to Heaven"; and on the other, three vines, representing the armonial bearings of the Connecticut Colony. Col. Reed's had on one side, in dark blue, a picture of Mount Monadnock with a bright scarlet star just above the mountain; beneath which were the words, "New Hampshire Strikes for Liberty." On the other side, near the top, was painted a large trumpet and sword, and in the centre in large letters:

"OBEDIENCE TO GOD,
JUSTICE TO ALL,
FEALTY TO NONE."

At this time there was no national American flag. Betsy Ross, whose name and fame have come down to us, had not yet sewn together the stars and stripes. The nation, in fact, had not been born; the Declaration of Independence had not been proclaimed. Col. Reed and his brave men had heretofore served under the King's colors—the flag bearing the cross of St. George. That flag had now become an emblem of tryanny, and they resolved to "strike for Liberty," adopting for their motto, "Obedience to God, Justice to All, Fealty to None."

On the evacuation of Boston by the British in March, 1776, Reed accompanied the patriot army in its movement to New York, and on the 24th of April was assigned to the Brigade under Gen. Sullivan to proceed up the Hudson to relieve the force under Arnold, in its retreat from Canada. The following receipt on file serves to show the confidence reposed in Col. Reed by Gen. Washington:

"NEW YORK, APRIL 20, 1776. Then received from Gen. Washington three boxes said to contain three hundred thousand dollars, to be delivered to Gen. Schuyler at Albany.

(Signed)

JAMES REED."

The money was probably for the payment of Schuyler's army.

Arnold's force was met by Gen. Sullivan at the river Sorell, and Col. Reed was active and efficient in conducting the retreat from that point to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on the first of July. Worn with hardship and

exposure, the army was now attacked by disease, which rapidly thinned its ranks. While stationed at Crown Point, Col. Reed was prostrated by fever, which resulted in the total loss of his sight, whereby his military career and usefulness were terminated.

On the 9th of August, while still suffering from his severe illness, he was appointed by Congress on the recommendation of Washington, a brigadier-general. His commission was forwarded by the president of Congress under cover of the following letter:

“PHILADELPHIA, AUG. 10, 1776.

SIR: The Congress having yesterday been pleased to promote you to the rank of brigadier-general in the army of the American States, I do myself the pleasure to enclose your commission, and wish you happy. I am, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

To Brigadier-General James Reed.”

Unable by reason of his infirmity to remain in the service, he retired from the army on half pay until the close of the war. For some years after leaving the army he resided in Keene, N. H., occupying the confiscated estate of Dr. Josiah Pomeroy, a royalist, which was leased to him by the state of New Hampshire. While living in Keene the blind general was almost daily seen upon the main street led by a Mr. Washburn, who was paralyzed on one side. The lame had eyes for the blind; the blind had strength to support the cripple;—each exchanged that which he had to spare for that of which he stood most in need.

During his residence in Keene, Gen. Reed's wife Abigail died. The following inscription is copied from a slate stone monument once erected in an ancient burial ground in Keene, but later, with others, removed to a new cemetery:

“In memory of Mrs. Abigail, wife of Genl James Reed, who departed this life Aug. 27, 1791, in the 68th year of her age.”

“There's nothing here but who as nothing weighs,
The more our joys the more we know it's vain;
Lose then from Earth the grasp of fond desire—
Weigh anchor, and some happier clime explore.”

The old graveyard where her remains were deposited was allowed to go unprotected and uncared for till many

of the stones were broken and destroyed. At length the few that remained were taken up and set one side and the ground plowed and planted. To save the stones from further desecration they were taken to a new cemetery and set in a row by themselves. An elderly inhabitant of Keene, indignant at such abuse of the resting places of the dead, suggested that upon each of these stones should be placed the additional inscription: "*I once lived; I died and was buried: but where my bones are now crumbling into dust, no mortal man can tell.*"

Gen. Reed married for his second wife Mary Farrar, a school teacher of Fitzwilliam. In 1798 he removed to Fitchburg, where he purchased of Dr. Peter Snow, senior, a house located on the site of the present Central block, next west of city hall. The lot, one and a fourth acres, comprised the land included in Cottage square and part of that on which the city hall stands. The deed was dated February 3, 1798. After his removal to Fitchburg, Dr. Peter S. Snow, then a lad of eight or ten years, used to lead the blind old general about the streets of Fitchburg. It is related of the general and his wife that both were fond of horseback riding, and they were accustomed to take frequent rides together. On these occasions the two horses were guided by the wife, by means of a rein extending from one animal's bit to that of the other.

Gen. Reed died in Fitchburg, February 13, 1807, aged 84 years, and was buried with military honors. In the funeral procession the widow followed her husband's remains to the grave on horseback, while the general's horse, with empty saddle, walked by her side.

Gen. Reed's family consisted of six sons and five daughters, and his descendants are quite numerous. Two of his sons, Sylvanus and James, served in the war of the Revolution. Sylvanus was an ensign in his father's regiment. His commission, bearing date January 1, 1776, is signed by John Hancock, president of Congress. He was adjutant under Gen. Sullivan, and was afterwards promoted to colonel of a regiment. He served through the war and died in Cambridge in 1798. James Reed, Jr., also served through the war. He was disabled in the service and died

a pensioner at Fitzwilliam, February 19, 1836, aged 89 years.

A contributor to the *Granite Monthly*, published at Concord, N. H., in writing of Gen. Reed, says that:

"In all the relations of life he sustained the highest character for honesty and integrity. In the numerous records relating to him there is naught found but words of praise. Wherever his name is mentioned by his comrades, from Washington down, it is in terms of commendation and eulogy. He was emphatically a Christian warrior. In the church records of the various towns where he resided his name is enrolled among the records of each, and his military orders bespeak the Christian as well as the soldier."

His grave in Laurel Hill cemetery is marked by an elaborate slate-stone tablet, bearing the following quaint inscription:

"James Reed, born at Woburn, 1723. In the various military scenes in which his country was concerned, from 1755 to the Superior Conflict distinguished in our history as the Revolution, he sustained Commissions. In that Revolution, at the important post of Lake George, he totally lost his sight. From that period to his death he received from his country the retribution allowed to pensioners of the rank of Brigadier General. Died at Fitchburg, February 13, 1807."

In this calm, peaceful retreat, overlooking the scenes of his declining years, repose the ashes of our heroic dead!

"Beside the Nashua's silvery stream
The hero's relics deep are laid;
No more of battle days he'll dream,
Fame claims no more;—her debt is paid;
Yet o'er his grave her laurels bloom,
And crown with brightest wreaths his tomb."

FITCHBURG PREPARATORY TO THE REVOLUTION.

Read at a meeting of the Society, October 19, 1903.

BY EBENEZER BAILEY.

The middle of the eighteenth century found a vigorous, hardy and enterprising people inhabiting the eastern coast of North America, while to the west and north were the Indians and the French, which latter were scheming continually to acquire the ultimate control of the whole continent. They systematically incited the Indians to periodical incursions, calculated to strike terror to the stoutest hearts, and the English settlers sought and were grateful for the aid of the regular soldiers of the king of Great Britain in destroying the French power in North America. That accomplished, a future was opened to them, the grandeur of which, perhaps, only a few realized at once, but which ere long began to force itself into the minds of many. The whole interior of a great continent was now open to English civilization, and the foundations of a great nation were already laid. Should it be a new nation independent of government across the seas, or should it be but an adjunct of Great Britain?

Not only were these questions present to the minds of the colonists, but they also affected the minds of English statesmen. But those who controlled the government were not profound statesmen, and they sought to bind the colonies to the home government by means which only forced them apart. The colonists, released from the terror of savage incursions and the necessity of dependence on the political power of the mother country, opened up new settlements, incorporated new towns, and engaged in new maritime enterprises. Just when they were beginning to enjoy unaccustomed wealth and to feel new strength and power, the blundering government over the ocean pro-

ceeded to enact navigation laws which grievously affected their financial interests and exasperated them beyond measure. The result was to push them forward in the direction of the vision which beckoned them on towards a separation which only habit and a genuine loyalty could have prevented, even under a tactful and moderate government.

All this time settlements were being pushed further and further towards the west. New towns were being formed, forests felled and new lands cultivated. Roads were built to connect distant settlements, and general communication between the seacoast and the interior towns became each year more practicable and speedy. Some of the wealthy residents in Boston and the larger towns bought large tracts of land and used their influence to have them settled and improved, and some built country houses which were surrounded by large estates. Doubtless Massachusetts Bay and the colonies on the north and south would have become in time a real New England if events had not transpired to drive away the large landholders and break up the land into small farms.

In 1764, when the little community which had grown up in the western portion of the town of Lunenburg was set off and incorporated as Fitchburg, there must have been some premonitions of trouble with the mother country, among those sturdy, hard-working farmers. Just how deep a personal interest they really felt in the matter we do not know. It was in Boston, whose merchants were engaged in making money in maritime ventures and trade, and with whose profits the English government was interfering, that the personal interest centered and opposition began. The interior towns were somewhat jealous of Boston, and indisposed to be led by that pushing, thriving town, and they were slow to respond to her appeals for sympathy and aid. However, at this time the proposed passage of the Stamp Act was known, and must have been more or less a subject of conversation when our worthy Fitchburg ancestors met, though the building of the meeting-house and the choice of a minister were to them of more immediate importance. So matters went on till 1768, when some English vessels were sent to Boston

to overawe the inhabitants, and it was expected that soldiers would follow. The Boston people asked the governor to convene the General Court, but he refused. It was then resolved to call a convention representing all the towns in the province, and circular letters were sent out, asking the towns to send delegates. This was in the middle of September and the convention was to be held on the 22d.

The circular letter which was sent to Fitchburg was probably received on September 19, for a warrant was issued of that date for a special town meeting at four o'clock, P. M., of that day. This happened to be the day for which a previous town meeting had been called, to act in regard to the salary of the minister and some other matters. The special meeting was called in the words of the warrant, "To see if the Town will Chuse a Committy according to the Request of the Selectmen of Boston, sent to this town to desire said town to Call a town meeting To Consider the present Criticle Situation of the Governments afares or Vote anything Refering thereto; as they Shall Think Proper."

The town met as aforesaid and "Vtd and Chose the honarable Edward Hartwell, Esq. to be the agent for the town of fitchburg to Joyn the Comite of Town of Boston, according to their Request sent by the Gentlemen selectmen of Boston sent to the town of fitchburg."

The convention to which the Hon. Edward Hartwell was a delegate met on the 22d of September, but its temper was very conservative, its members, among whom was probably Mr. Hartwell, being averse to committing themselves to the policy and plans of the Boston leaders. Samuel Adams, almost in despair, said, "I will stand alone. I will oppose this tyranny at the threshold, though the fabric of liberty fall, and I perish in its ruins." A strong petition to the king was, however, passed before the adjournment of the convention.

From this time, although matters moved rapidly in Boston, and organized resistance to parliament took more and more definite shape, so far as is shown by the Fitchburg town records, there was no excitement or special interest in colony matters in this town during the next

five years. However, none of the country towns were neglected by Samuel Adams and his junto, and no doubt they were in touch with some good patriots in Fitchburg and Lunenburg, who were striving hard to "leaven the lump."

These were trying times, and there was much searching of hearts and questioning as to the advisability of taking irrevocable steps in defiance of the lawful government. Then, as always in such crises, there were conservative people who said wait, and radical people who were in haste to strike. There is much to be said and a place for sincere sympathy for those who, previous to the breaking out of hostilities, allowed their loyalty to their mother country and the flag of Old England, under which many of them had fought, to hold them back from overt acts, and induce them to counsel peace and forbearance, even under hard conditions, which might yet be only temporary.

On the other side were men who argued after the manner of those whom John Adams overheard conversing in a Shrewsbury tavern one evening in 1774. They were substantial yeomen of the neighborhood, who had dropped in to smoke their pipes and gossip before the fire which blazed in the big tavern fireplace.

Said one, "The people of Boston are distracted." Another said, "No wonder the people of Boston are distracted. Oppression will make wise men mad." A third said, "What would you say if a fellow should come to your house and tell you he was come to take a list of your cattle, that Parliament might tax you for them at so much a head? And how should you feel if he was to come and break open your barn, to take down your oxen, cows, horses and sheep?" "What should I say?" replied the first, "I would knock him in the head." "Well," said a fourth, "if Parliament can take away Mr. Hancock's wharf and Mr. Rowe's wharf, they can take away your barn and my house." After much more reasoning in this style a fifth, who had as yet been silent, broke out, "Well, it is high time for us to rebel. We must rebel some time or other, and we had better rebel now than at any time to come."

It is very probable that somewhat of this manner of conversation might have been heard in this town in the tavern, or at church, between services on Sunday, or, perhaps, in Joseph Fox's store of an evening or on a rainy day. But there were those, and prominent among them was Thomas Cowdin, who could not easily break the ties of loyalty, even to a misguided government. Perhaps, also, they realized with better calculation and more discernment the difficulties and the risks of open rebellion. We do not know how many there were of this class in Fitchburg, but it would seem that there were not a few who were slow to act or to commit themselves, till the rising tide of feeling against the government of Great Britain rose so high that it swept them off their feet and carried them on with their friends and neighbors. That tide rose in December, 1773.

In the autumn of 1772 a town meeting was held in Boston, at which the following vote was passed, on motion of Mr. Samuel Adams:

"That a committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty-one persons—to state the rights of the colonists, and of this Province in particular, as men and Christians and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns and to the world as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof, that have been, or from time to time may be made."

In December of the same year (1772) a letter was accordingly printed and sent to each of the towns in the Province, and for the next three months answers were returned from most of the towns, breathing the spirit of liberty and independence, and fully sustaining the sentiments of the Boston town meeting.

The town records of Fitchburg, however, do not show any action at this time, nor any notice taken of the letter for nearly a year. Why this indifference or this caution? We turn the record leaves in vain, until we reach the warrant for town meeting, to be held December 1st, 1773, and read "Article 3^{ly}. To See Whether the Town will Take aney notis of the Letrs Sent to the Town of fitchburgh by the Town Clerk of Boston or vote aney thing Refering there to as they Shall think proper."

It is very probable that the immediate cause of the insertion of this Article was that another letter had just been received from the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, with regard to the "tea ships," which were on their way hither. A letter which was written by Samuel Adams was sent to all the provincial towns. A portion of it read as follows:

"We think, gentlemen, that we are in duty bound to use our most strenuous endeavors to ward off the impending evil, and we are sure that upon a fair and cool inquiry into the nature and tendency of the ministerial plan you will think this tea now coming to us more to be dreaded than plague and pestilence."

Therefore it seemed to the earnest patriots of Fitchburg that the time had come to throw off their apparent apathy, and that the question of the hour should be presented to the citizens, a public stand taken, and their decision made known. An article was placed in the Warrant, "To See Whether the Town will Take any notice of the Letters Sent to the Town of Fitchburgh by the Town Clerk of Boston or vote any thing Referring there to as they Shall think proper;" and on the first day of December, 1773, the voters assembled in the meeting-house and Isaac Gibson was chosen moderator. It may have been cold without, but there was warmth within the stoveless building; for there was earnest discussion, or, as the records say, "deliberation with zeal and candor." The meeting finally voted unanimously, as follows:

"To act on the Letters or Requests of the Town of Boston Sent to the Town of Fitchburgh. Chose Isaac Gibson Capt Ruben Gibson Phinehas Hartwell Ebenezer Woods Kindall Boutall Ebenezer Bridge Solomon Steward to be a Committee to Draw up and Report to the Town of Fitchburgh a Draft of our Rights and priviledges as free members of Society: In order to make Return to the Town of Boston or to the Committee of Correspondence at Boston."

It was then "Voted that this meeting be adjourned to the fifteenth day of this Instant December at one O Clock in the after noon." The town record proceeds:

"Decembr the 15 1773 the Town being met by an a Jurnment the Report being Read and accepted by the Town Voted that the Report be Recorded in the Town Book of Records."

Another vote was passed that "ye Report concerning Late Trouble at Boston occasioned by the Late teas being

brot subject to a Duty payd in this Coloney and Landed be Returnd to the Committe of Coryspond at Boston."

The next day—the 16th of December—the tea was emptied into Boston harbor.

In the above mentioned report the committee first express their satisfaction in the perusal of the circular letters from the Committee of Correspondence, and state their resolve "to stand fast in the Liberty and Rights where with our Gracious Sovereign Kings have made us free by an undeniable Charter & Decree from them their Heirs & Successors for ever." The report then proceeds to set forth the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of tyranny, and then asserts that they are also moved by principles of "humanity and benevolence for the people of Great Britain," whose welfare and happiness were bound up with theirs. Then they proceed to ask excuse and indulgence for their long delay in considering the circular letters, and go on to express their gratitude to the "Respectable Gentlemen of the Town of Boston for their good counsel and generous efforts in their behalf." They then pass to the matter of the importation of the tea, and express their opinion that the opposition to the landing of the tea was just and equitable.

This report, adopted unanimously by the voters of Fitchburg in town meeting assembled, became thus the voice of the town on the question of resistance to the British Government. It was really an admirable report, in that it was general and not particular. It did not discuss the right of parliament to tax the colonies, but it strongly asserted their rights as Englishmen, and most admirably and wisely identified themselves with their brethren across the sea, as being engaged in the same struggle against tyranny. This was true, and it stands out clearly to-day in the light of history.

If at any time there had been lukewarm feeling or division of opinion, the resolutions now passed amply atoned for it, in their expressions of gratitude to the revolutionary leaders at Boston, and their humble protestations that their dilatory action might not be imputed to any indifference to the cause of liberty. It was in the af-

ternoon of December 15, 1773, that these resolutions were adopted. Under instructions, a copy, duly attested by Thomas Cowdin, the Town Clerk, was given the committee, to communicate the same to the town of Boston, and we can readily believe that no time was lost in the performance of that duty. So that on the afternoon of the 16th, when the citizens of Boston were assembled in town meeting, and the tea ships were about to be visited, Isaac or Reuben Gibson, or some other member of the committee may have arrived and delivered a letter to the Committee of Correspondence which said: "With respect to the East India Tea It is our Opinion that your Opposition is Just & equitable."

The next action in Fitchburg town meeting relative to Revolutionary matters was on July 12, 1774, when the following vote was passed in regard to "the Late papers Sent to this Town Relating to our publick affairs and Distrest Circumstances in this provance."

"Voted to Rase the money to Suporte the Congras, be collected by a Contrebuton, and if their be aney over and above, the money that is the over plush shall be Laid out to provide a Towns Stoke of powder."

Then the meeting was adjourned to the 9th day of August, at which meeting it was "Voted to Signe the Covenant," and an adjournment was made to the 26th day of September. This "Solemn League and Covenant" was a document pledging its signers not to use any British productions. It was circulated through the Massachusetts towns and in other colonies.

On the 26th of September, 1774, the Town met, but transacted no business, and adjourned to the first Tuesday of October, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. At this meeting the first military company was organized, for the Town "Voted and axcepted of Ebenezer Woods as Capten, and Ebenezer Bridge as first Liuftanent and Joseph Fox 2 Liftanent and Kindall Boutall Insign." Capt. David Goodridge was chosen "to Joyn the Congress at Concord," and it was voted to "pay the Select men for providing the Town with Powder & Led & flints their account which is £14-4." Then the meeting was adjourned to the first Tuesday of November next, but at that meet-

ing only the Moderator and Town Clerk were present, and an adjournment was made to the 22d—at which time, no one appearing, the meeting was not opened.

The failure of these two meetings was perhaps caused by the fact that a new meeting was called by the Selectmen to “take in to Consideration one of the provensiall Congress resolves in order to inlist one quarter parte of the Traning Soldirs at Least to be at a minets warning and to See what Incoregment the town will Give their minnet men that shall Inlist.” There was another article relative to the town’s indemnifying the constables for not paying the province rate.

When this meeting was held it was voted to form a Minute Company of forty men, and to indemnify the constables for not paying the province tax to Harrison Gray, Esq. Both these votes were public acts of resistance to the lawful authority of Great Britain. Especially, to refuse to pay money belonging to the Province into the hands of the legal officer, and to hold it subject to the orders of the Provincial Congress, as they also voted, was sufficient to make them thorough-going rebels in the eyes of the law.

The next town meeting, January 10, 1775, might be called a meeting of military preparation. After choosing Capt. Goodridge to be a delegate to the “provential Congress at Cambridge on the first day of February next, voted to chuse a committee of Inspection.” After this it was voted to “Indemnify the assessors for not returning the Constables name to the Province Treasury as usual.”

“Voted and Excepted of the Covenant bareing date the tenth day of Januery 1775.

“Voted and Excepted of the offercers & soldiers that have signed the Covenant or those that shall sign here after if offered.

“Voted to chuse a committy to veiw the minute Compenys arms.

“Voted that Capt Woods fills up his Compeny as he and his Compeny shall think proper with Offercers.

“Voted that Joseph Fox be a Committee man to Receive any article that the Inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg may think proper to Contrabute towards the relief of the Poor of Boston.”

The next military action of Fitchburg was at the town meeting March 6, 1775, when it was voted to provide forty bayonets for the Minute Company, or in the words of the record:

"Voted to provide forty Bayonets for the minute Company for the Use of the town upon any Expedition and then to be returned to the Town."

"*For the use of the town upon any Expedition.*" Was any expedition contemplated? These words must have had some significance to whoever presented the motion and to those who passed it. But whether or not any expedition was contemplated at the time, the expedition in which those bayonets were first used was in the endeavor of that minute company to reach Concord and Lexington in time to take part in the momentous conflict of the 19th of April. They did all they could have done, but they were too late.

Scenes in the drama of the Revolution now followed one another swiftly, but the town records of Fitchburg show little of the tense excitement which must have existed. How could it have been otherwise? They, with their fellow colonists, had defied the power of England—had attacked her soldiers. Would the English Government relent or rest until they were humbled in the dust? Only fifty miles away were the British soldiers—expecting reinforcements—and then an expedition into the interior to strike terror into the hearts of the country people.

A Provincial Congress was called, to be held at Watertown on the 31st of May, and the Town of Fitchburg on the 22d of that month voted to send Joseph Fox, Esq., to represent it, but on the 11th day of July, in town meeting assembled, the citizens declined to send any one to represent them in the "Great and General Court or Assembly" to be held at Watertown on the 19th.

Previous to the town meeting which was called for the 23d day of May, 1776, the warrants had always contained the name of "His Majesty," but this time his authority was entirely ignored, and the warrant posted read as follows:

"In observance of the Colony writ to us directed these are in the name of the *Government and people of the Massachusetts Bay*," etc.

The next Fitchburg town meeting was held July 1st, 1776, and there the town of Fitchburg played its part in the most memorable event in our national history—the

Declaration of Independence. On the 19th or 20th of June Capt. William Thurlo posted on the little church on the hill north of the tavern the following warrant:

"By virtue of a Resolve passed by the Late house of Representatives may 10th 1776 to us directed in order to call a Town meeting you are hereby required to Notify the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg and others adjoining to said Town to Assembly and meet at the meeting house in sd Town on munday the first Day of July next at three O Clock in the afternoon then & there being duly meet and formed to act on the following articles (viz)

"1^{ly} To Chuse a Moderator to Govern said meeting.

"2^{ly} To know the mind of the Town that if y^e Honorable Continental Congress should for the Safty of the United Colonies declare them independant of the Kingdom of Great Britain that we the inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg will Solomnly Engage with their Lives & fortains to support them in the Measure or act any thing refering their too as they shall thing proper when meet."

This warrant was signed by the five selectmen: David Goodridge, Isaac Gibson, Joseph Walker, Phinehas Hartwell, Elijah Carter.

Whether on that July afternoon there was deliberation and discussion among the assembled citizens in the meeting-house, or whether the question was simply put and unanimously voted, the records tell us not. This is all they say:

"At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg legally warned and Assembled July 1st 1776.

"1^{ly} Voted and Chose Deacon Goodridge Moderator.

"2^{ly} Voted that if the Honorable Continental Congress should for the Safty of these United Colinies Declare them Independant of the Kingdom of Great Braitain that we the Inhabitants of the Town of Fitchburg will with Our lives and fortains support them in the measure.

"3^{ly} Voted that the Town Clark copy of the second vote and Send it to the General Cort.

"This meeting Disolved.

DAVID GOODRIDGE moderator
JOSEPH FOX Town Clerk."

OLD MILITIA COMPANIES.

Read at a meeting of the Society, November 19, 1900.

BY HENRY B. ADAMS.

Very early in the history of New England the colonists saw the necessity of organizing the militia. Well-equipped companies were in active service in the Indian War of 1675-76,—King Philip's War.

Long before the Revolution the muster field was an educational force. The meeting-houses were often built on or near the training grounds. Commissions were eagerly sought and were intrigued for. Village titled honors were divided between the deacon, the magistrate and the officers of the militia. Some of the older regiments saw more than a century of colonial life.

In 1659 Thomas Adams of Chelmsford was chosen chief sergeant of a company, but the county court refused to confirm him on account of his religious views. He was, however, confirmed the following year, upon solemnly agreeing not to disseminate his principles or notions "contrary to what the church doth confessedly own and practice."

The bounty jumper of the Civil War may have thought he had found something new in the way of lucrative business, but he only followed the footsteps of his predecessor of the war of the Revolution.

Congress on the 8th day of May, 1792, passed a law establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States. Every able-bodied white male citizen of the age of eighteen years and under the age of forty-five was to be enrolled, excepting the vice-president, officers judicial and executive of the United States, custom house officers with their clerks, post officers and stage drivers who are employed in the care and conveyance of the mail, ferrymen employed at any ferry on the post road, all inspectors of

exports, all pilots, all mariners actually employed in the sea service of any citizen or merchant within the United States.

Every citizen so enrolled shall within six months thereafter provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shotpouch and powder horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle and a quarter of a pound of powder, and shall appear so armed and accoutred and provided when called out to exercise or into service, except that when called out on company days to exercise only he may appear without a knapsack; that the commissioned officers shall be armed with a sword or hanger, and that from and after five years from the passing of this act all muskets for arming the militia as herein required shall be of bores sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound.

In the cavalry companies each dragoon was required to furnish himself with a serviceable horse, at least fourteen and a half hands high, a good saddle, bridle and valise, holsters and a breastplate and crupper, a pair of boots and spurs, a pair of pistols, a sabre and a cartouch box to contain twelve cartridges for pistols.

On the 2d day of March, 1803, congress made some additions to the law, one of which was that every citizen duly enrolled in the militia should be constantly provided with arms, accoutrements and ammunition. Commanding officers of companies were required to parade their companies on the first Tuesday of May annually at one o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of inspecting, examining and taking an exact account of all the equipments of their men, and to train their companies for three several days in the year in addition.

In 1809 the state legislature passed an act exempting from militia duty the lieutenant-governor, members of the executive council, judges of the courts and their clerks, justices of the peace, registers of probate, registers of deeds, secretary and treasurer of the commonwealth and their

clerks, sheriffs, officers and students of colleges, preceptors of academies and schoolmasters while employed as such, officers and guards employed at the state prison, and every person of the religious denominations of Shakers and Quakers.

Those conditionally exempted were deputy sheriffs and coronors, physicians and surgeons; all who had held commissions in the militia for less than five years, all between forty and forty-five years of age. (This was changed in 1821 from thirty-five to forty-five years of age.) These were exempted from all militia duty except that of keeping themselves constantly furnished with arms and equipments required by the laws of the United States and the duty of carrying or sending them on the first Tuesday of May annually to the place of inspection of the company in which they were enrolled, and the duty of attending elections of company officers, and were to pay to the treasurer of the town \$2.00 annually, and the money so collected was expended by the selectmen of the town in arming and equipping such members of the militia as were not conveniently able to arm and equip themselves.

By the law of 1792 the field officers of a regiment were one lieutenant-colonel commandant and one major to each battalion of the militia. In 1816, this was changed to one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel and one major. Provision seems to have been made in the law of 1792 for such independent companies as then existed. They were to retain their accustomed privileges subject to all duties required by the law in like manner with the other militia. The regular companies of the militia were called the "Standing" companies and later became known as the "Slam-bang" companies.

Penalties for deficiency in equipment were as follows: If deficient of a good musket of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet and belt and an iron or steel ramrod, all of which articles are to be considered as one, and a deficiency in either shall be considered a deficiency of the whole, he shall forfeit one dollar.

If deficient of a cartridge box containing twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket and each car-

tridge containing a proper quantity of good powder and ball, or if deficient of a serviceable knapsack, he shall forfeit thirty cents.

If deficient of two spare flints and a priming wire and brush, or either of them, he shall forfeit twenty cents, provided, nevertheless, that none of the above forfeitures shall be incurred by any private in case he appears with a good rifle, knapsack, shotpouch and powder horn, a quarter of a pound of powder and twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle.

The militia of Fitchburg was organized into two companies of infantry, locally known as the North and South companies, and one company of cavalry, very soon after the passing of this law. These companies were of the 4th regiment, 2d brigade, 7th division, but it seems there was already one company of infantry and one of cavalry, as we find that John Goodridge was commissioned captain, May 2, 1781, and promoted to major, April 30, 1794.

William Brown was commissioned first lieutenant of cavalry, March 1, 1787, and promoted to captain, March 1, 1791.

Aseph Goodridge was commissioned first lieutenant of cavalry, August 19, 1794, and promoted to captain, May 2, 1797.

Thomas Hartwell was commissioned major, May 2, 1787.

Joseph Howe was commissioned captain, April 15, 1794.

John Upton was commissioned captain, May 19, 1794.

John Fox, Jr., was commissioned captain, May 30, 1796.

Benjamin Marshall was commissioned captain, May 30, 1796, and promoted to major, December 10, 1797.

Daniel Putnam was commissioned first lieutenant of cavalry, April 20, 1801, and promoted to captain, December 27, 1802, and made major, March 19, 1806.

James Cowdin was commissioned ensign, May 30, 1796, and captain, March 12, 1800.

Oliver Fox was commissioned ensign, April 29, 1799, lieutenant, March 12, 1800, captain, March 25, 1802.

Edmund Durant was commissioned captain, March 12, 1800.

Aaron Wheeler was commissioned ensign, March 12, 1800, captain, March 14, 1803.

Samuel Phelps was commissioned ensign, June 11, 1798, lieutenant, March 12, 1800.

John Farwell was commissioned ensign, April 29, 1805, lieutenant, April 14, 1806, captain, April 25, 1809.

Joseph Farwell was commissioned lieutenant, May 7, 1805, captain, April 14, 1806.

Jonathan Thurston was commissioned ensign, May 2, 1809, lieutenant, May 1, 1810, captain, April 21, 1811.

Joseph Fox, Jr., was commissioned lieutenant, May 19, 1794.

William Brown, Jr., of the cavalry, was commissioned cornet, April 8, 1806, lieutenant, June 6, 1806.

Sylvester P. Flint was commissioned ensign, March 25, 1802, lieutenant, March 14, 1803, captain, April 29, 1805, lieutenant-colonel commandant, February 20, 1810. Discharged, January 17, 1811.

Nathan Ordway was commissioned ensign, April 4, 1806, quartermaster, February 16, 1807, adjutant, April 4, 1810, major, April 12, 1813. Discharged, May 17, 1815.

Philip F. Cowdin was commissioned ensign, May 7, 1805, lieutenant, April 4, 1806, captain, March 31, 1808. Discharged, February 7, 1810.

Elijah McIntire, Jr., was commissioned lieutenant, April 5, 1809.

George S. Putnam was commissioned ensign, May 5, 1807, lieutenant, March 31, 1808.

Isaiah Putnam was commissioned ensign, May 5, 1807.

Samuel Putnam was commissioned ensign, March 31, 1808, lieutenant, May 2, 1809, captain, April 4, 1810. Discharged, April 3, 1811.

Joshua Goodrich was commissioned lieutenant, April 4, 1810, captain, May 7, 1811. Discharged, April 15, 1813.

Martin Newton was commissioned captain, May 31, 1813. Discharged, April 4, 1815.

Leonard Burbank was commissioned ensign, May 2, 1809, captain, April 4, 1810, major, February 21, 1811, lieutenant-colonel commandant, April 12, 1813, brevet-

colonel, January 20, 1816, brigadier-general, January 25, 1817.

Zachariah Sheldon, Jr., was commissioned ensign, April 22, 1811, lieutenant, March 11, 1814, captain, May 31, 1816.

Benjamin Wheeler was commissioned ensign, September 27, 1813, lieutenant, May 29, 1815, captain, March 31, 1816.

Jacob Upton was commissioned first lieutenant of the cavalry, March 12, 1813. Discharged, June 30, 1817. He was no doubt in command of the cavalry company, as there is no record of captains being commissioned for many years.

Nehemiah Giles was commissioned quartermaster August 1, 1815.

Daniel Mayo was commissioned lieutenant, September 7, 1813, captain, May 29, 1815.

Ephraim Hartwell was commissioned captain, June 19, 1817.

Amos Durant was commissioned lieutenant, April 7, 1820, captain, April 10, 1821.

Jacob Jaquith, Jr., was commissioned lieutenant, August 14, 1817.

Samuel Hale was commissioned lieutenant, May 31, 1816.

Benjamin Flint, Jr., was commissioned lieutenant of the cavalry, October 31, 1823.

Daniel Works of the cavalry was commissioned cornet, October 31, 1823, lieutenant, June 20, 1825. Discharged, May 10, 1827.

Joel Page was commissioned cornet, May 27, 1818. Discharged, May 3, 1822.

Nathan Tolman was commissioned lieutenant, August 14, 1824.

Stephen A. Pratt was commissioned ensign, September 6, 1824.

Hosea Proctor was commissioned captain, May 26, 1830.

Joseph Upton, Jr., was commissioned ensign, March 20, 1830, lieutenant, August 2, 1830, captain, July 4, 1833.

Abel Eaton was commissioned ensign, August 22, 1830, lieutenant, July 4, 1833.

Eri Holden was commissioned lieutenant, July 4, 1833.

Thomas Upton was commissioned ensign, July 4, 1833.

Elijah Felt was commissioned captain, March 11, 1833, major, December 30, 1834, lieutenant-colonel, June 25, 1835.

Flint Sheldon was commissioned lieutenant, May 2, 1833.

Nathaniel E. Dodge was commissioned ensign, September 12, 1833.

Ezra Kendall was commissioned quartermaster, August 15, 1833.

Edwin F. Burnell was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, January 4, 1834.

Calvin Foster was commissioned adjutant, September 15, 1834.

Of the regimental staff Dr. Peter Snow was commissioned surgeon's mate in 1793, and promoted to surgeon, March 12, 1800.

Dr. Abel Fox was commissioned surgeon's mate, June 1, 1813, and promoted to surgeon, February 12, 1814.

Silas Parsons was commissioned surgeon's mate, February 2, 1814.

William Bascom was commissioned chaplain, October 8, 1808.

Rev. Calvin Lincoln was commissioned chaplain, September 25, 1827.

John Butler was commissioned paymaster, August 27, 1829.

Daniel Cross was commissioned paymaster, September 15, 1834.

One of the meeting places for roll call, inspection and election of officers was the hall connected with the old Fitchburg Hotel, which stood upon the site of the present hotel; another was at the Woodbury tavern on the Turnpike road in the south part of the town. Officers were expected to furnish the liquors and cigars. Very likely the meeting-house was at times used by the militia companies, as it was a general utility place used for political and town meetings. In one town the town powder was

stored in a closet built in the overhead beams of the unfinished edifice.

May training and the annual muster were important events of each year and were devoted to military drill and exercise, and to jollification in which New England rum was a potent factor.

By the law of 1840 every able-bodied white male citizen between eighteen and forty-five years of age, excepting persons enlisted in the Volunteer companies, were to be enrolled in the militia, and the militia thus enrolled were to be subject to no active duty whatever except in case of war, invasion, or to prevent invasion. The active militia of the commonwealth were to consist and be composed of volunteers or companies raised at large and in all cases were first to be ordered into service in case of war or invasion, arms to be furnished by the state. With the passing of this law the Standing or Slam-bang companies went out of existence, and the Independent companies were generally merged into the Volunteer militia, the system of the present time.

The Ashburnham Light Infantry company was chartered in June, 1791, and the officers chosen were commissioned July 13, following. The town of Ashburnham manifested a lively interest in the military organization, almost without interruption, from 1791 to the opening of the Civil War in 1861. In the war of 1812 the people of Massachusetts were opposed or indifferent to the prosecution of the war, but with the Light Infantry company the spirit of the soldier triumphed over the prevailing sentiment of the town and the members were frequently drilled in the exercise of arms and expectantly waited the summons to march to the scene of conflict.

The late Colonel Phillips, our former townsman, in one of his letters wrote as follows: "While we lived in Ashburnham my father was a member of the Light Infantry company and he used to take me to training with him. Soon after the war of 1812 broke out it was unpopular in Massachusetts and was called in derision 'Jim Madison's' war.

"Governor Strong did not respond readily to the call for troops, but when a British fleet appeared off Boston

harbor he became alarmed and issued a call for all the independent companies in the commonwealth to repair to Boston for the protection of the capital town of the state. There was great excitement all over the state. The Ashburnham Light Infantry marched down through Fitchburg one Sunday morning, led by Captain Ivers Jewett, to the music of fife and drum, and were followed by a large baggage wagon containing ammunition and equipage. When the danger was over they came marching back." They were stationed at South Boston and Dorchester fifty-one days and were discharged October 30, 1814.

The Leominster artillery was one of the independent companies that responded to the call of Governor Strong and marched to the defence of Boston at the same time as the Ashburnham company.

Owing to the unpopularity of the war of 1812 in New England a draft had to be resorted to. Among those drafted from Fitchburg were James Kemp, Joe Eaton and a man named Hosley. Eaton for some reason could not (or did not) go; and a man by name of Haskett was hired in his place. The drafted men were sent to Fort Warren in Boston harbor.

For many years subsequent to the war of 1812 the Ashburnham company was maintained with full ranks, and in proficiency of drill and discipline was among the first companies in the regiment; but in the progress of years the military spirit was suffered to decline, the laws of the state yielded a diminishing support for the maintenance of military organizations, and in 1838 the company appealed to the town for pecuniary assistance, which was refused. From that time the company gradually decreased in numbers and efficiency until December, 1851, when its officers were officially discharged and the company disbanded.

But the military spirit was soon rekindled, the occasion for which was found in a Fourth of July celebration in Fitchburg in 1855. The old members of the organization were called together and the ranks filled with new recruits. The men were drilled and participated in the celebration with credit, says the historian of Ashburnham,

to themselves and to the town. The Sentinel in its report of the celebration, after mentioning the different local organizations that took part, goes on to say that Ashburnham also furnished a company for the occasion of about a hundred men neatly dressed in the continental uniform, whose appearance added much to the attraction of the scene. The spirit of former years was aroused; the company was reorganized and continued in a flourishing condition until the war of the Rebellion demanded its services. The new officers chosen at its reorganization were: Captain, Joseph P. Rice; first lieutenant, Addison A. Walker; second lieutenant, Jonas Morse; third lieutenant, Alonzo P. Davis; fourth lieutenant, George H. Barrett; with full ranks, sixty-six names upon its roll, and ably commanded, the company attended the division muster at West Brookfield in September following, Col. Edwin Upton being in command of the regiment.

In June, 1860, Captain Rice was promoted to be colonel of the regiment and Lieut. Addison A. Walker was commissioned captain of the Light Infantry.

In the spring of 1861 the company, under command of Captain Walker, promptly tendered service to the governor as an organization in aid of the Union cause.

When the 21st regiment was recruited in July of that year Company G was composed mostly of Ashburnham men and nearly all were members of the Light Infantry company.

Captain Joseph P. Rice, who for so long a time commanded the company, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the 21st regiment, and was killed at the front of his regiment at the battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862. He is said to have been a soldier in the best sense of the term, and to bravery and courage united manliness of character and genuine kindness of heart.

A CONNECTING LINK IN THE MILITARY HISTORY OF FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, December 16, 1907.

BY HENRY A. GOODRICH.

During the War of the Revolution, about one-tenth of the population of Fitchburg were more or less engaged in military service. The minutemen were fully organized and equipped for duty when the alarm was given on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. After the war was over, it was deemed necessary to keep up the military spirit for future emergencies. Accordingly there were three companies organized in this town, two of infantry, known as the North and South companies, and one of cavalry. These companies were in the Fourth regiment, Second brigade, Seventh division of Massachusetts militia. But little is known of the Cavalry company except that William Bacon was commissioned lieutenant March 1, 1787, and promoted captain March 1, 1791, and Asaph Goodridge was captain in 1797.

The purpose of this paper is to show a connecting link between the military of the Revolutionary period and the organization of the Fitchburg Fusiliers. Col. George E. Goodrich recently discovered, among the documents left by his father, a record of what was known as the South company of Fitchburg. The exact date of the organization of this company is not given, but the first call for inspection is dated April 24, 1794, and reads as follows:

"Worcester, ss. To Mr. Benjamin Danforth, Jr. Sir: In the name of the commonwealth you are hereby required to notify and warn all the train band in your district to appear at the train-field in Fitchburg on Tuesday, the sixth day of May next, at 1 o'clock P. M., with arms and equipments as the law directs, for the purpose of view-

ing arms and other military duty as the commanding officer of the company shall think proper, and there to attend till lawfully dismissed. Fail not, and make return to me at or before said day. Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of April, 1794.

JOHN GOODRIDGE, *Capt.*"

Capt. Goodridge was the writer's great-grandfather, was a soldier of the Revolution, and celebrated his twenty-first birthday at the Battle of Bunker Hill. He was promoted to major April 30, 1794. The total rank and file under Capt. Goodridge numbered sixty men. Among them are familiar names, as Boutelle, Brown, Baldwin, Cowdin, Carter, Carleton, Daniels, Day, Eaton, Fuller, Fullum, Farwell, Goodridge, Houghton, Marshall, Osborn, Pratt, Palmer, Stickney, Sheldon, Simonds, Stone, Wilson, Upton. Number of muskets reported at first inspection, 49; one fife, one drum, one sergeant, one ensign, one lieutenant, John Upton. On May 18, 1794, the company met to choose a captain, in place of Capt. Goodridge, promoted to major. They chose John Upton captain and Joseph Fox lieutenant; sergeants—Nehemiah Fuller, Ephraim Osborn, Thomas Fairbanks, Asa Farwell; corporals—Jonathan Boynton, Joseph Downes, Timothy Gray, John Kimball.

At the next inspection the number of rank and file reported was 48 men, number of muskets 46. Jacob Burnap succeeded John Upton as captain. In 1798 James Cowdin was chosen lieutenant, Ephraim Osborn as ensign.

It may not be generally known that in those days the commissioned officers consisted of a captain, one lieutenant and an ensign, instead of a captain and two lieutenants, as at present. The ensign was usually the standard-bearer, but since the office was abolished in the military, this service is performed by the color-sergeant. The title of ensign is still retained in the navy, the office being next above midshipman.

As the record of the old South company proceeds, nearly every old familiar name in Fitchburg will be found on its list of officers, rising by regular promotion from corporal to captain. The sergeants under Capt. Burnap were Joseph Downe, Solomon Day, Joshua Stickney, Oli-

ver Fox. In 1801 James Cowdin was captain, and the rank and file was given as 54, muskets 47.

May 5, 1802, Capt. James Cowdin's company met, and after he received his discharge they chose Oliver Fox captain, and Aaron Eaton, Jr., lieutenant.

The return of Oliver Fox's company in May, 1802, gives the rank and file as 45 men, and number of muskets 41.

In 1803 the names of the officers of the South company were: Oliver Fox, captain; Aaron Eaton, lieutenant; Joseph Farwell, ensign; sergeants—Ephraim Davis, clerk, George W. Chaplin, Moses Farwell, Joseph Carter; corporals—James Farwell, Thomas Harris, Verin Daniels, Elisha Carter. Return of Capt. Fox's company, May 3, 1803, shows enrolled men in cloth uniform, 48; cartridges with balls, 1320; knapsacks, 55; wires and brushes, 55; flints, 165; bayonet belts, 55; ramrods, 55; cartridge boxes, 55; bayonets, 54; muskets, 55; total rank and file, 51; drums and fifes, 5.

Capt. Fox was a noted man in his day and lived where the Whitney Opera house now stands. All the land between Prichard and Grove streets was known as Fox flat and all between Prichard and Mt. Vernon streets as Fox hill. Two well-known streets, Oliver and Fox, perpetuate his name.

May 7, 1805, Capt. Fox's company met after he received his discharge, to choose a captain and fill the vacancies made by promotion. Lieut. Eaton was chosen captain, Ensign Farwell lieutenant, Philip Cowdin ensign; sergeants—William Kimball, clerk, Aaron Houghton, James Farwell, Samuel Kimball. Return of Capt. Eaton's company, May 7, 1805, shows men in cloth uniforms, 62; muskets, 65; total rank and file, 65. The roll of the company at this time shows many familiar names still common in this locality. Capt. Eaton was succeeded, April 14, 1806, by Joseph Farwell, with Philip Cowdin as lieutenant and James Farwell as ensign; sergeants—William Kimball, George F. Putnam, Samuel Kimball and Samuel Putnam. The return of Capt. Farwell's company, May 6, 1806, gives men in cloth uniform, 45; muskets, 53; total rank and file, 59.

May 5, 1807, Capt. Farwell's company met to choose an ensign in place of James Farwell, discharged, and George F. Putnam was chosen to fill the vacancy. Return of the company, May 5, 1807: Men in cloth uniforms, 55; muskets, 53; total rank and file, 60.

March 1, 1808, Philip F. Cowdin was elected captain, George F. Putnam lieutenant, and Samuel Putnam ensign; sergeants—Joshua Phillips, Joseph Carter, James Stewart, William Carter. May 2, 1808, Samuel Putnam was chosen lieutenant, and Leonard Burbank ensign. Return of Capt. Cowdin's company, May 3, 1808: Men in cloth uniforms, 58; muskets, 54; total rank and file, 58. Return of Capt. Cowdin's company, May 2, 1809: Men in cloth uniforms, 50; muskets, 50; total rank and file, 50. The officers elected, April 4, 1810, were as follows: Captain, Samuel Putnam; lieutenant, Joshua Goodridge; ensign, Webster Cole. The return of Capt. Putnam, May 1, 1810, gives men in cloth uniform, 45; muskets, 52; rank and file, 55.

At a meeting of the company, May 7, 1811, the following officers were elected: Captain, Joshua Goodridge; lieutenant, Webster Cole; ensign, James Stewart. The roll of Capt. Goodridge's company, May 4, 1812, shows: Sergeants—Martin Newton, Jonathan Whitcomb, Ephraim Osborn, Jr., Samuel Hale. Men in uniform, 50; rifled guns, 2; muskets, 61; total rank and file, 64.

May 24, 1812, the two infantry companies were called together for the purpose of a detachment. The names detached were as follows: From Capt. Joshua Goodridge's company, Joseph Cowdin, Natt Cowdin, Bush Fitch, Levi Pratt, Aaron Derby, Jr., Samuel Taylor, Joseph Kemp, William Derby and Samuel Miller. From the North company, Capt. Thurston, one drummer, Lyman Garfield, and nine men—George Wood, Amos Daby, Simeon Gibson, Edward Burnap, Jr., Nathaniel Sawyer, William Carlton, Simon Marshall, Joseph Haskell, Joseph J. Souther.

Capt. Joshua Goodridge lived on a farm in South Fitchburg, a short distance this side of the Leominster line.

On May 4, 1813, the company was in command of Lieut. Webster Cole, with men in uniform 43, rifle guns 3, muskets 48, rank and file 51. The other officers at

this date were Joseph Stewart, ensign; sergeants—Martin Newton, Jonathan Whitcomb, Ephraim Osborn, Jr., Samuel Hale.

The next record gives an inspection of the company, Oct. 6, 1813, under Martin Newton, captain; Daniel Mayo, lieutenant; Benjamin Wheeler, ensign; sergeants—Ephraim Osborn, Jr., Samuel Hale, Joseph Cowdin, Micaiah Warren. The roll of the company, May 3, 1814, gives Martin Newton, captain; Daniel Mayo, lieutenant; sergeants—Samuel Hale, Micaiah Warren, Joseph Cowdin and John Upton. The return of the same date shows: Men in uniform, 43; rifles, 2; muskets, 48; total rank and file, 51.

It appears by the record that it was the custom of the company to impose fines for neglect of duty by failure to appear at trainings, muster, or at inspection, also for deficiency in equipments.

The following were some of the fines imposed and paid: Ephraim Osborn of the South company paid \$3 fine for neglecting to train with said company May 3, 1814. Luther Griggs and Jonathan Flint were each fined \$3 for neglecting to meet with said company for May training, 1814. Received of Luther Griggs \$8 for fines, two company trainings and one muster for the year 1814. October 31, received of Levi Warren 50 cents for deficiency of a cartridge box, wire and brush, and spare flints, at the inspection of the South company on the 2d day of May, 1815.

July 29, 1814, the two infantry companies were called together for the purpose of detaching four privates, two from each company. From Capt. Newton's company, Levi Pratt and Joel Eaton, and from Capt. John Thurston's company, James Kemp and Andrew Poore.

This and the account of the detachment previously mentioned, which took place in 1812, are the only references in the record to the North company, so called. No mention is made of the purpose for which these detachments were ordered. Possibly for some special service connected with the war of 1812. Capt. Newton was a prominent manufacturer, whose factory was located in what is now called "Newton's lane." It would appear

from the record that Capt. Newton was promoted from sergeant to captain without filling the usual preliminary offices.

Inspection of the company, September 21, 1814, names Martin Newton captain, Daniel Mayo lieutenant, Benjamin Wheeler ensign. Sergeants—Samuel Hale, Micaiah Warren, John Upton, Timothy F. Upton.

May 2, 1815, gives the roll of the company under Lieut. Daniel Mayo: Daniel Mayo, lieutenant; Benjamin Wheeler, ensign; sergeants—Samuel Hale and Micaiah Warren. Return of Lieut. Daniel Mayo, May 2, 1815. Men in uniform, 30; rifles, 1; muskets, 55; total rank and file, 56.

On May 29, 1815, the company met and elected the following officers: Daniel Mayo, captain; Benjamin Wheeler, lieutenant; Samuel Hale, ensign; sergeants—Micaiah Warren, Alpheus Bartlett, Ephraim M. Cunningham, Charles Farnsworth.

August 14, 1815, Capt. Mayo issued orders for a training on the 12th day of September of the same year, M. Warren, clerk.

September 12, 1815, the company met, agreeable to the foregoing orders. On the same day, Capt. Mayo ordered his company to assemble on the 3d day of October for a training.

October 3, the company met agreeable to the foregoing order, and performed military duty, and while under arms received orders from Lieut. Wheeler to assemble on the 11th day of October for muster.

The next year, 1816, was the last in the history of the company, and many and frequent trainings were held.

April 18, 1816.—The company under Lieut. Wheeler.—An order was issued for a training on the 7th day of May, also for inspection and election of officers. May 7, 1816, the company met according to foregoing order and elected Benjamin Wheeler captain, Samuel Hale lieutenant, and Alpheus Kimball ensign.

August 23, 1816, Capt. Benjamin Wheeler issued orders for his company to assemble on Tuesday, the 3d of September, to perform military duty.

September 3, 1816, the company met in accordance with the foregoing order and performed military duty.

September 18, 1816, the company met according to orders received while under arms on the 3d instant, and again performed military duty and while under arms again received orders from Capt. Wheeler to assemble on the 2d day of October next, to perform military duty once more.

October 2, 1816, the company met agreeable to orders, and while under arms received orders from Capt. Wheeler to assemble on the 9th day of October at 6 o'clock A. M. for regimental inspection and review.

October 9, the company met agreeable to the foregoing order and performed military duty and passed inspection and review, Micaiah Warren, clerk.

This appears, according to the record, to have been the last meeting of the company. The Fitchburg Fusiliers were organized in December of the same year, about three months afterwards, and it is quite likely that many of the men connected with the old company were transferred to the new. Certain it is that some of those heretofore mentioned were afterwards officers of the Fusiliers. Thus it will be seen by this record that the old South company, composed in part of men who had already seen actual service, formed the connecting link between the Revolutionary period and the organization of the Fitchburg Fusiliers.;

For a quarter of a century this company performed military duty at a time when it required no little sacrifice to become even a citizen soldier. During the existence of this company there were no less than thirteen different commanding officers.

When a boy I often wondered where so many men in Fitchburg obtained their titles, for it seemed to me that almost every prominent man in town was a captain. The last named in this record was Capt. Benjamin Wheeler, who lived in what was known as Wheeler hollow, near the normal school building.

In addition to the names of the officers already mentioned, there were the captains of the North company, the Cavalry company, and the several commanders in the early years of the Fusiliers. These together furnished the

large number of military titles distributed among the residents of Fitchburg during the first seventy-five years after the incorporation of the town.

It is the province of this society to restore and preserve as many as possible of the old records in the early history of Fitchburg, and this fact is the writer's apology for presenting this crude and somewhat monotonous record of one of its oldest regularly organized military companies.

During the years of this company's existence, a large proportion of the able-bodied men under forty years of age were accustomed to perform some kind of military duty. Trainings and muster were among the events of the year. Consequently, there were as many or more citizen soldiers in town at that time than to-day, with a population twenty or twenty-five times greater.

Many of the towns in the commonwealth are now without a military organization, but Fitchburg has always had one or more good companies, and has maintained an honorable military record, both in active service and in time of peace.

THE OLD TURNPIKE AND TURNPIKE DAYS.

Read at a meeting of the Society, May 20, 1895.

BY FREDERICK A. CURRIER.

"Over on the turnpike," beyond Mt. Elam, the road is a reminder of days when stock companies were building highways and bridges, and all who used them paid toll therefor. Among the necessities of civilized man are facilities for communication. The paths, as made by the Indians and beasts of the forest, were in natural curves; the white man not unfrequently followed in their footsteps, and after building their log cabins the early settlers looked to the improvement of the "Ways." With the increase of population the old paths, only two or three feet wide, marked by trees, with here and there clearings of the brush and thicket, leading through woods which bore the mark of centuries, where no stream was bridged, nor hill graded, or marsh drained, were gradually extended. Through these channels for many years went the messengers with news from distant friends, and the laws were communicated. When in those early days a worn and weary man, upon his half-starved horse, or two or three pedestrians, bending under their packs, swinging their sturdy staves, were discovered approaching a settlement, they were welcomed with a universal cordiality, no matter who they might be, as those by whom it was hoped to once again hear of the welfare of distant loved ones, and feel the kiss of one more wave from the great ocean of that world from which they were separated; and the departure of a settler for Massachusetts Bay was an event known to every one in the vicinity. Starting with his burden of messages, long, loving letters, and many commissions for petty purchases, the adventurer received the benefit of public prayers for the prosperity of his passage and safety of his return.

The first record of roads in New England refers to them as "trodden paths." Year by year the paths became better marked as the settlements began to string themselves upon them, and the best situated grew into villages and towns. The footsteps of those who trod them went more and more hurriedly, and the bridle path gave way to the rude road for ox teams, and soon the wheels of heavy carts were heard. These roads, as a matter of economy, followed the old routes, just as in the country the first track made by a man in the newly fallen snow is likely to be followed by all other travelers during the winter, even though he may have gone far to one side of the right track. As we go over the old roads yet remaining we are surprised that so many run over the highest hills, when they would have been so much easier to build and maintain if they went through the valleys; but as the first clearings were usually upon the elevations the paths were from cabin to cabin and from one settlement to another. Many of the old roads, like Topsy, "never were made, but just grew." Torrey's history says, "The principal communication between Lunenburg and the new towns above was through the road by David Page's," now Pearl street. One of our ordinary wagons would have found the four roads leading through Fitchburg at the time of its incorporation in 1764 hardly passable by them, and they were mostly used for travel on horseback. It is recorded that the chaise in which rode the wife of Rev. Mr. Cushing on her wedding journey from Westborough to Ashburnham in 1769 could proceed no further than Fitchburg, owing to the condition of the roads, the remainder of the journey having to be performed on horseback. After the Revolution county roads were built, and frequently in opposition to the will of a majority of the inhabitants of the towns, on whom a separate tax was laid for building and repairs. These roads were very poorly cared for, and travel over them was difficult and dangerous, but the effects of the war were felt by the people for many years, and little money was available for their improvement. Referring to county roads, a historian of Worcester writes, "From early days it was the aim to have every bridle path, cart road, town or county

road, if possible, point directly to Lincoln square or the Common in Worcester;" and the desire to have "all roads lead to Worcester" is not unknown even in our day in the "Heart of the Commonwealth." Increasing travel and the starting of the stage coach compelled the making of the roads more safe for the new vehicles. This resulted in the formation of Turnpike companies by the Legislature for the building and care of roads and bridges, for the use of which they could collect tolls from all passers-by. Great promises were held out to induce investment therein, equal to that by the captains of industry to-day. An era of speculation ensued, in which the amount subscribed often far exceeded that called for, as in one instance on record where in ten days 2275 applied, but only 600 could be accepted, and it required a lottery drawing to determine who should be the fortunate individuals to receive the coveted stock. The desire to speculate was as great then as nowadays. The prospect of increase of the value of their lands, and the fascinating hope of large dividends, induced many to risk all they could raise in these enterprises. In 1818 no less than three hundred and seventeen pikes, with forty-five hundred miles of roadway, had been constructed in New England and New York, with a total capitalization of over \$7,500,000. The passion of the builders was for a "bee line." No matter what might be in the way, the pikes must turn neither to the right or left, but if need be go over the highest hills, on the theory that a straight line would always be the shortest distance between two points, not realizing that a curve around might be a less distance. Well laid out and greatly reducing distances between towns, in many cases they fairly altered the face of the country through which they passed. Said an English writer, in his travels in the United States in 1818, "Turnpike roads in New England are so abundant that traveling is facilitated in all directions." The name "turnpike" originated from the swinging bar or gate which detained the passers-by until toll was paid. In some places the gates did not swing on hinges, but were portcullises, reminding one of the passage from Psalms—"Lift up your heads, O ye gates." These roads multiplied the number of blacksmith shops,

stores and taverns on their route, and the landlords were among the most active promoters and directors of the enterprise, on the patronage of which they were largely dependent for their business.

In 1802 Ohio was admitted to the Union, the bill providing that five per cent. of the net receipts from the sale of public lands in that state should be available for the building of public highways to and through Ohio to navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic; to be applied three per cent. within the state and two per cent. outside of the state,—Congress to lay out the highways, with consent of the states traversed. In 1806 work was commenced on the Cumberland road—also known as the National road—from Cumberland, Maryland, the western terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, through southwestern Pennsylvania, over the Alleghanies, to the Ohio river at Wheeling, and was to be extended through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis. The services of Henry Clay, its projector and chief supporter, in its behalf are commemorated in a monument at Wheeling. One of the most important national questions for many years was the subject of "Internal Improvements," which for over forty years agitated the political life of the country. Thomas Benton declared that for the thirty years ending in 1836, when it was abandoned to the states, the Cumberland road had absorbed the public attention and cost \$6,670,000 of the people's money. The road was sixty feet wide, of stone broken to pass through a three-inch ring, covered with gravel and rolled down with an iron roller. One who saw its constructive work wrote: "That immortal Irish brigade, a thousand strong, with their carts, wheelbarrows, picks, shovels and blasting tools, graded the commons and climbed the mountain side, leaving behind them a roadway good enough for an emperor." It is claimed that the first application of the idea of macadam pavement in the United States was on this road, and it was not used on the stage roads in England until many years later. Some of the passes through the Alleghanies were as precipitous as any in the Sierra Nevadas, and the mountains as wild. Within a mile of the road the country was a wilderness, but through

the highway traffic was as continuous as in the streets of a large town.

As many as twenty gaily painted mail coaches daily passed with from four to six horses, making regular time of ten miles per hour,—while between Hagerstown and Frederick the twenty-six miles was covered in two hours. One of these fast stage lines bore the unique name of the "June Bug;" a line of freight wagons, whose rear wheels were ten feet high, running from Baltimore to Wheeling, was drawn by twelve horses, and carried ten tons each, making almost as good time as the coaches. These, with the long lines of canvas-covered wagons, drawn by six or eight horses, with bars of bells on their collars, the private carriages of the families of statesmen and merchants, and gentlemen traveling singly in the saddle, with all the accoutrements of the journey in their saddlebags, made this old highway between the East, West and Southwest full of bustle in the palmy days of coaching, unequaled by any other road in this country. Enormous droves of cattle and sheep were almost always in sight. The rivers and creeks were spanned by stone bridges, distances indicated by iron mile posts, and the toll houses supplied with strong iron gates; the road was so well constructed that it remained in good condition for years, long after all systematic repairs had ceased. While the Cumberland road was building twelve other great national roads were laid out in the states and territories, making a complete system of highways, and more or less work was done in opening and constructing them. In addition to direct appropriations, grants of land were made by the states, and the labor of United States troops was occasionally employed to aid in the work. The road and stages on the "Old Cumberland" were kept by the contractors in a fine condition to thereby influence the many Senators and Congressmen who journeyed over it to and from Washington. It was on this road that the saying, "chalking his hat," originated, from a custom of the stage agent, when tendering a free ride to a public official, of marking in chalk on the favored individual's hat a hieroglyphic he had adopted, to guard against drivers being imposed on by bogus passes. In 1822 the regular appropriation for

the Cumberland road ceased with the veto of President Monroe, and in 1830 President Jackson vetoed the bill authorizing the government subscription to the "Old Limestone road," as the Marysville and Lexington turnpike in Kentucky was called. This was a highway to run from Ohio to New Orleans, binding North and South together. It was only completed from Lexington to the Ohio on account of lack of government aid. Over it President Jackson was in the habit of driving with his coach and four gray thoroughbreds through Kentucky on his way from the Hermitage to Washington. It was, perhaps, at a toll gate on this road, that a certain historic reply was made to one of General Jackson's mounted escort, who had ridden on ahead to announce the Presidential coach, and to ask the amount of toll required. "The same as for any other citizen of the United States," answered the old woman who kept the toll gate, who was most likely a Clay Whig beneath her outward show of Jacksonian Democracy. Government expenditures for all projects of this nature were stopped by the financial crisis of 1837, until about 1854, and since that time the national government has done little if anything except on military roads in the territories. In its palmy days the Cumberland road was the finest in this country, and for a part of the way followed the route of General Braddock. The section from Cumberland to Baltimore was so successful that for many years it yielded as much as twenty per cent. annually, and not until near war times did it fail to pay at least three per cent. It was finally acquired by the State of Maryland, and made free. As late as 1849 the annals of Cumberland announce that for that year "the extent of travel over the National road was immense," but four years later the steam cars arrived at Wheeling and a new era had dawned, the stage lines commenced to disappear, and in 1856 the last stage was withdrawn from the National road.

One of the first turnpike charters in Massachusetts was granted for a road from Boston through South Shrewsbury to Worcester, and was largely due to the untiring efforts of Levi Pease, who was called the "father of the turnpike." Many other charters followed, and some proved very profitable, the turnpike from North-

ampton to Pittsfield paying at this time twelve per cent. dividends. The first road to reach Fitchburg was incorporated March 1, 1799, when Timothy Dutton, Elijah Hunt, John Barrett, Edward Houghton, Solomon Vose, Caleb Mayo, David Mayo, Oliver Chapin, Josiah Proctor, Oliver Estey, Samuel Sweetser, Hiram Newhall, Ebenezer Jones, Jonas Kendall, Philip Sweetser, Elisha Ball, Caleb Alvord, Jonathan Levitt, Richard E. Newcomb, Solomon Smead, Jerome Ripley, Ezekiel Bascom, Daniel Wells, Calvin Mann, Thomas W. Dickenson, and their successors, were constituted a corporation by the name of the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation.

The preamble to the act of incorporation reads:

"The highway leading from Northfield, in the county of Hampshire, through Warwick and Orange to Athol, and also from Greenfield, through Montague and unimproved lands up Miller's river to Athol aforesaid, then through Gerry (now Phillipston), Templeton, Gardner, Westminster and Fitchburg to Leominster, in the County of Worcester, is rocky and mountainous, and the expense of straightening, making and repairing the same through the said towns, so that the same may be conveniently travelled by horses and carriages, is much greater than reasonably ought to be required of said towns."

The charter called for a road from Captain Elisha Hunt's tavern in Northfield through the towns named to Westminster Meeting-House and from thence to Jonas Kendall's tavern in Leominster, with a branch from Calvin Munn's tavern in Greenfield to intersect the road at Athol. The road was to be four rods wide and the traveled way not less than eighteen feet wide in any place. Five toll gates were established—one near where David Mayo keeps a tavern in Warwick, "one between Greenfield and Athol, one near where Samuel Sweetser keeps a tavern in Athol, one near the line between Westminster and Gardner and one near where Jonas Kendall keeps a tavern in Leominster." Rates of tolls were established as follows:

Each coach, phaeton, chariot or other four wheeled carriage drawn by two horses 25 cents, and four cents for each additional horse.

Every cart or wagon drawn by two horses or oxen 12½ cents, and three cents for each extra horse or ox.

Every currie, 16 cents, every chaise, chair or other carriage drawn by one horse 12½ cents.

Every man and horse 5 cents.

Every sled or sleigh drawn by two horses or oxen 9 cents, and three cents for every extra horse or ox.

Sleds or sleighs with one horse 8 cents, horses, mules, oxen or neat cattle led or driven besides those in teams or carriages one cent each, and sheep and swine 3 cents per dozen.

For unreasonably detaining any traveler, or charging more than established tolls, the penalty was from two to ten dollars. The corporation was liable for damage from defective bridges or want of repairs to roadway. And any person who broke down, or attempted to pass a toll gate without paying, was liable to a fine of from ten to fifty dollars; for turning out of the road, and trying to evade toll, by driving around the gates, the penalty was to be three times legal toll.

The following went free:

All persons going to or from public worship, or with their horses or cattle to or from labor on their farm, or to or from any grist mill and on ordinary family business, and all persons on military duty, also all "foot passengers."

A sign with rates of toll was required, fairly and legibly written in large or capital letters. The men of means in the towns through which it passed, who subscribed for the stock, were not without sound reasons for their faith in the enterprise. Those were the days of stage coaches and regular lines of professional teamsters, driving large wagons, with four, six and eight horses, to and through the towns; and private teams of the farmers carried to the metropolis whatever they had to sell and brought back articles for home consumption. On steep grades the heavy teams hired extra oxen or horses, or the teamsters joined their teams together over the summit. Says a writer of those days:

"The traffic over the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike was then very heavy; a perpetual procession of heavily-laden wagons, bearing freights of country produce to city markets, and returning with assorted merchandise for the village stores. Forty or fifty such wagons daily traversed the main road, averaging a freight of at least a ton each."

The general turnpike law required gates to be ten miles apart unless especially provided otherwise. Loaded wagons or carts carrying over 4500 pounds gross weight must have wheels with felloes not less than three and a half

inches under penalty of paying triple toll; and for giving wrong weight the fine was ten dollars, and the chaining or fastening wheels of a loaded wagon—unless an iron shoe not less than six inches wide and twelve inches long was placed under the wheel—cost a fine from two to twenty dollars. In 1800 a change of route was granted, on account "of the great inconvenience to travellers, to have the road laid out by the Westminster Meeting-House," and the gate between Westminster and Gardner was placed near the "Old Jackson tavern," near where now stands the store of S. W. A. Stevens at South Gardner.

All the gates were kept open until the entire road was completed. The first annual report filed with the Governor and Council, and now in the archives at the State House in Boston, is as follows:

FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS TURNPIKE ROAD TO THE PROPRIETORS, DR.

1802.

Jan. 11.	To the amt. of Sundry bills paid for making road, building Bridges, Toll Houses, etc.,	\$47,674.77
	To the amt. of several sums paid for damage and Cost to Proprietors of lands, etc.,	4,180.08
	To the amt. of sundry accts. for charges, etc.,	2,840.21
	Total,	\$54,695.06

Supra, *

CR.

By the amt. of Toll recd to the 27th day of De- cember, 1801,	\$1,542.29
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Errors Excepted.

RUFUS STRATTEN,
JOSEPH PIERCE,

Directors.

No further reports are found until that of 1819. But recently I got track of the old records of the corporation, which I found in an incomplete condition, but from which a few items of the incidental life of the enterprise are available. The first meeting was held at the house of Oliver Chapin, innholder in Orange, and nearly every subsequent meeting was at Field's tavern in Athol. There were issued a total of sixteen hundred shares. This at \$100 each would indicate \$160,000 invested in the company.

In 1802 an extension was authorized from Athol to the line of the state of New Hampshire at Richmond, passing through the west part of Royalston, to connect with a new county road. Persons traveling between Petersham and Royalston meeting-house on the old road, also those not exceeding the limits of Athol, were exempted from paying toll except at the Athol gate. In 1803 another extension from Warwick to Winchester, N. H., was started, and the Warwick gate moved to Orange.

June 23, 1803. Merrick Rice, Moses Hale, Oliver Chapin, Zachariah Whitman, Nathaniel Holman, Jr., Calvin Hale, John Stone, Metapher Chase, Samuel Ware, John Prentiss and Phenias Whiting were incorporated as the North Branch Turnpike Company.

This road extended from the line of the State of New Hampshire, between Fitzwilliam and Winchendon, to South Ashburnham, through Scrabble Hollow in Westminister, to the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike near Osborn's mills in West Fitchburg.

The first meeting of this corporation was held at the tavern of Stephen Hoar at Westminister on the sixth of July, 1803. The town of Ashburnham voted to contribute the sum of \$500 towards the building of this road. The rates of toll were the same as on the Fifth Massachusetts.

The Union turnpike was incorporated in 1804, to connect the Fifth Massachusetts from the foot of North Monoosnock Hill, in Leominster, with the Cambridge and Concord turnpike, via Harvard. Built in an air line, over high hills and through deep valleys, it was intended as a link of a through thoroughfare from Albany, Brattleboro and Greenfield to Boston, but the better grades offered by the Lancaster and Bolton turnpike established in 1806 diverted business thereto, and the Union pike was soon discontinued. Commutation of toll is shown by a payment of two dollars by Dr. Samuel Rice in August, 1805, by which he and his family, when going on his usual circle of practice, were to be allowed to pass the gate in Athol, until the first of January following. A frequent subject before the directors was damage every spring from the rushing waters and ice of Miller's river, carrying away the bridges and washing away the roadway. In April,

1800, Thaddeus Coleman and others asked for compensation on account of being detained by ice thrown into the road by an extraordinary rise of Miller's river, to which the directors responded by a vote, "not to allow anything except the toll they did not pay at the time."

In 1811 a new gate was erected near Gurnie's tavern in Montague, and additional toll was authorized, for every cart or wagon drawn by more than four horses or oxen, twelve and one-half cents, and two cents extra for each additional horse or ox; "and if any person on their arrival at or near either of the gates separate from his team any horse or ox, with the intention to pass the same separately through such gates and thereby avoid the payment of the part of the toll allowed by said Company, he shall forfeit two dollars therefor."

The different sections of the road were let out by contract to keep in proper repair, and the directors appear to have been the persons having charge, and payments were made to them by the treasurer therefor.

The charters of all the turnpikes provided that, whenever the income had fully compensated the corporation for all moneys expended in purchasing, making, repairing and taking care of the road, together with interest at 12 per cent. per year, the property should become vested in the commonwealth and be at their disposal. This time, however, never arrived, so far as the turnpikes in this section were concerned. Commencing as early as 1810 a dividend of 50 cents per share was being paid on shares of the corporation. The next year 75 cents was paid, and for many years this continued to be the amount returned to the stockholders. In 1818 \$1.25 was paid, in 1820 only twenty-five cents, and in 1823 again returned to 75 cents.

An act of June, 1815, authorized the corporation to make changes in the route where it was deemed advisable; "to facilitate travel by going 'round instead of over the hills, without increase of the length of way," and changed the route in Athol near the cotton factory.

January, 1818, it was voted "that stage drivers may pass each turnpike gate with wheels for \$1 per week, pro-

vided none of them make any difficulty." In April of the same year the directors voted "to induce Capt. Stephen Brooks of Templeton to remove his dam and to pay the damage already done to the turnpike road by means of his dam being erected in Templeton or Gardner, supposed to be \$5."

A statement of the Treasurer made and accepted at the annual meeting holden on the 7th day of January, 1819, exhibiting an account of the affairs of the corporation for the year ending Dec. 31st, 1818:—

Balance in the Treasury after the 18th dividend was declared, Jan. 7th, 1818,	\$215.30
Amt. of receipts in Toll, etc.	4,161.08¾
	<hr/> \$4,376.38¾

Expenditures and disbursements for the year 1818 as follows, viz.:—

The 19th dividend, declared April 13th, 1818, upon 1600 shares, of 50 cents each share,	\$800 00
Amt. of Toll gatherers wages for 1818,	470.40
Amt. of accts. allowed for Repairs and other incidental expenses in 1818,	3,083.19
Balance in the Treasury on the 7th day of Jan., 1819,	22.79¾
	<hr/> \$4,376.38¾

The following statement of the income and expenditures of the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike for the year ending December 31, 1819, on record at the State House in Boston, gives receipts:—

1819.

Jan'y 7. Balance in the Treasury,	\$22.79¾
Amt. of toll collected in 1819 as by Returns,	4,302.75 .
Cash collected of Nathan Stone in 1811 for an old Bridge Iron,	2.69
Cash for the rent of the Old Tollhouse in Gardner for 1818,	12.50
Cash received from Gate No. 5, not included in Returns,	40.33
	<hr/> \$4,381.06¾

EXPENDITURES, ETC.

20th dividend this day declared of 50c. each share,	\$800.00
Toll gatherers' wages for 1819,	470.40

Amt. of accts. allowed for repairs in 1819,	\$2,702.57
A dividend of 25c. on each share declared this 5th day of Jany, 1820, it being the 21st dividend,	400.00
Balance in the Treasury,	8.09¾
	<hr/> \$4,381.06¾

JOSEPH PROCTOR, *Clerk and Treasurer.*

The following statement of the income and dividends of the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation was made for the year ending January 20, 1823, viz.:

Amount of the toll collected at the several gates in the year 1822,		\$4,190.38
Toll gatherers' wages,	\$467.60	
Accts. allowed for repairs,	221.37	2,681.47
		<hr/>
Net income for 1822,		\$1,508 91
Balance in Treasury on 3rd day of Jany, 1822,		225.53
		<hr/>
		\$1,734.44
A Dividend of 50c. on each share was declared April 8th, amounting to		800.00
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, Jany 20, 1823,		934.44
		<hr/>
		\$1,734.44

In 1823 the North Branch turnpike wanted to substitute one gate for two, and collect double toll at this one. This aroused great opposition, and the following remonstrance was forwarded from Winchendon to the legislature:

"Because in this age and in this land of liberty turnpike gates are everywhere considered a nuisance and vexatious to travelers as well as the turnpike roads themselves, which are generally the poorest roads over which the traveler passes from one part of the country to another, it is often the case that people are obliged to travel over a turnpike, to be obliged to travel on a bad and dangerous road and to be frequently and forcibly stopped and detained, and draughts made on their purses and their patience. It is considered an infringement of liberty, a sort of legalized robbery, and it is fast becoming intolerable. Your remonstrants would therefore humbly, yet respectfully, suggest the propriety of diminishing this great evil by improving every legal means to lessen the number of gates."

"Universally adopted by Town and sent to the Legislature," as the record reads.

It is related that in 1824, on the occasion of General Lafayette's visit to this country, every toll gate on his journey was thrown freely open for him and his escort,

and the story is told of an old lady in charge of a turnpike gate in Connecticut, to whom a facetious traveler observed, "Well, madam, I suppose you are very glad General Lafayette has come, as you must have made oceans of money to-day at the gates." To which the old lady indignantly replied, "Sir, you must know that the General and his friends go through this gate free of toll." "Oho," says he, "then your gate is free now." "Yes," replied the dame, without a moment's hesitation, "for such men as Lafayette, but not for those who come so far behind him." About this time the growing feeling in the community began to manifest itself. Turnpikes were looked upon by many people as great monopolies, and on some routes the gates were carried off without notice to those tending them by persons who did not believe any one ought to have the privilege of obstructing the free way;—as in case of a toll keeper in Pelham who awoke one morning to find his gate gone, and on a bit of paper scrawled, "The man who stopped the boy when going to the mill will find his gate at the bottom of the hill."

In 1824 the directors voted to pay for labor on the road "eighty-seven and a half cents per day for a man and sixty-seven cents for oxen, cart and plow." In 1825 the toll gate No. 1, near Jonas Kendall's tavern in Leominster, was removed to near the old Woodbury tavern, in Fitchburg, where the old toll house can still be seen in a time-worn state of preservation, being the only one of the toll houses now remaining on the entire route of the old road. In January, 1826, the stage drivers appear from the following to be making trouble:

"Voted that the stage proprietors pay full toll after Saturday, the 4th inst., at the several gates, unless they paid all arrearages for the regular stages and extras, and if they refuse the gates are to be shut, and if they pass, or attempt to pass, by force, the Treasurer is ordered to commence a suit for the penalty provided. Nevertheless, if they see fit to pay \$1 per week for each regular stage, the same rate for extra coaches, and for all other extra stage carriages legal toll, they may pass the gates at this rate, they paying all arrearages as aforesaid."

The Massachusetts Annual Register for 1828 contains a list of one hundred and four organized turnpike compa-

nies, which is evidence of the extent and importance of the business at that time. But there were many of these which had ceased to pay any dividends and were even a burden to their owners. In June, 1829, by vote, the North Branch turnpike decided to go out of existence by transferring the property to the County of Worcester. A part of the route is still in use, running from the state road in West Fitchburg toward Winchendon, and a section of the old road is now covered by the Snow mill pond of Crocker, Burbank & Co.

September 20, 1831, the Fifth Massachusetts Company voted to purchase four yoke of oxen and fifty bushels of corn and to hire eight men to go to work on the first of April next, but the officers evidently found it hard to keep things going satisfactorily, as at a meeting of the proprietors held at the house of Joseph Young in Athol, on February 20, 1832, it was voted, "that the corporation is in favor of throwing open the gates of the turnpike, so that it may become a free road for the traveler," and the directors "were instructed to so throw open the gates when they deem it advisable;" and it was also voted that the corporation desire to relinquish their corporate existence, and the directors were requested to petition the county commissioners of Worcester and Franklin to discontinue the same as a turnpike and lay out the same as a public highway.

On the record book the following report appears of the last meeting on March 13, 1833:

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR 1832.

Money collected during the year,	\$3,304.97	
Paid Toll gatherers' wages,	421.08	
Leaving a net income of		\$2,883.89
Received for sale of gate No. 1, at Fitchburg,	60.00	
Number 2, at Gardner,	68.00	
Old House at Gardner,	33.00	
Number five at the Grant,	51.00	
Number six, in Montague,	50.00	
Four yoke of Oxen sold,	212.50	
Tools sold,	36.94	
Bills paid for maintenance,		\$3,456.12

"It appears by said report that the money has all been expended but \$15, and that still remains in the hands of the Treasurer, March 16, 1832.

Signed,

Calvin Townsley, Benj. Estabrook, Ephriam Stone, Joseph Young, and Stephen French, Directors of the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike."

Examination of the bills of maintenance of the road mentioned in this report indicates that these directors, individually, made all the repairs. It is very evident that it had not proved a paying proposition. The stockholders' investment was a "permanent" one on which they received nothing on the capital on the dissolution, and had only enjoyed very meagre dividends during its continuance. The county commissioners accepted the road in 1833 and it was laid out as a county road.

This once busy thoroughfare is now but little used, and that part located within the city limits, one of our pleasantest pleasure drives, but few of our present citizens ever call to mind that this, in its day, was one of the great stage roads and thoroughfares from Boston to the Connecticut river for all this section of the state.

The lot of keeping the toll gates, in many cases, fell to the women of the family and those unable to do hard work on the farm during the day. The pay received was small and the job far from being an easy one, what with the hot shot they were expected to swallow from the people who did not see why turnpikes were allowed to exist at all, and those who thought the charges for this kind of a team were too high, and too little for the other fellow's team,—like the driver of a small carriage who wanted the man at the gate to allow him to pass by and make the fellow with a heavy team pay toll enough for both, taking up time in arguing that the light wagon did not wear out the road, while the heavy team did. Parties of young people in sleighing and straw rides had to be closely watched, as they thought it great sport to rush through the gates if they were open, and then shout back to the gate-keeper. Others, if they could not get prompt satisfaction for any fancied grievance, were like the ruddy old farmer who declared "he would straight-way enter a complaint at the head office of the firm that cobbled this road for the benefit of us farmers who have

to bring our garden products to town so that you people may live; it's a tarnation shame that we can't get any satisfaction when we want it." But sometimes the gateman came out ahead in the argument with the "kickers," like the old darkey recently, on one of the southern turnpikes yet remaining, where a big touring car had twice rushed through the gates without stopping to pay toll. The next time they made the attempt the negro gate-keeper promptly shut the gate and brought them to a halt; with indignation the half-dozen occupants of the car declared they were entitled to pass without pay. "Why, look at your own board," said the spokesman, "it reads, 'every carriage, cart or wagon drawn by one beast, two cents; every additional beast, two cents'; we're not drawn by any beast at all." "No, sah," says the darkey, "but here's where ye come in," pointing to another clause, reading as follows: "'Every half dozen hogs, four cents,' an' three times four is twelve," he added. The twelve cents was promptly handed over. It is related that when the army, headed by General Sheridan and his staff, left Winchester early in the morning, moving towards Stephens City, the column, just as day was approaching, reached a toll gate on the Old Valley pike in charge of a young and beautiful girl. Even war-hardened Sheridan was not proof against the persuasion of a pair of black eyes and a pretty face, and when toll was demanded straighway produced the tithe, setting an example that was followed by his staff. "But," said Sheridan, as he passed through the gate, "I cannot vouch for my army." Soon the soldiers came and the girl again lowered the toll bar and demanded toll. This was met by jeers from the guard, who marched on. All day long the dusty troopers passed through, and all day Charlotte Hillman stood at her post. For every ten soldiers who passed the gate she cut a notch in the gate. When peace came again over the North and South and the policy of the administration at Washington was one of magnanimity, Charlotte Hillman counted the notches on the toll gate and sent her bill to Washington, and the bill was paid.

The last of the turnpike companies in Massachusetts went out of existence many years ago, and only a short

time ago the town of New Haven, by the payment of \$5000 to the Derby Turnpike Company, abolished the last toll gates on the public highways of Connecticut. It was at the old toll house on the Boston post road at the Connecticut line near Greenwich that was removed a few years ago, that Washington and his escort were permitted to pass free and were also given two barrels of ale by the keeper's wife. In some sections of the country, particularly in the West and South, the turnpike system remains to this day in some degree, and but recently the daily newspapers were filled with details of the "turnpike war" in Kentucky, where the highways have been for several years gradually being made free, but the exactions and quibbles of the companies had aroused the farmers to violent measures against the toll gates.

A prominent writer, referring to the Kentucky revolt, says: "Although the Kentucky farmers have resorted to some violence to gain their points, their actions have at no time equalled in riotous conduct those of the common people of Wales about fifty years ago, when a similar rebellion broke out against the turnpike system, and which resulted in the highway being made free. In no English-speaking country can this toll gate system be perpetuated in these days. The people will finally rise with violence if no other remedy is left to them." When the system was inaugurated, however, it was thought to be an equitable one, based on the principle that those who used the roads should pay for their support, and in their early days the turnpikes were a great advantage to the country, and by them an impetus was given to improved methods of road construction, some of which are with us to this day in our fine state roads. With the coming of the locomotive the tide of travel was diverted from the old highways, the day of the steam car followed, and now again we see travel returning in a large measure to many of the old roads with the swiftly moving auto, giving to them something of the life and travel that they enjoyed in the old departed days when the stage coach was in its glory and the old wayside taverns were often only a mile apart and the horse was the king of the road.

FITCHBURG SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Read at a meeting of the Society, May 20, 1895.

BY JAMES F. D. GARFIELD.

The opening of the Revolutionary War was signaled by the gathering of the Massachusetts minute-men and militia on the nineteenth of April, 1775, to repel the raid of British troops sent out from Boston by Gen. Gage to destroy the military stores gathered by the patriots at Concord. The news of the midnight march of the hostile forces,—the collision at Lexington green and the skirmish at the North Bridge in Concord,—was spread by swift couriers through all the neighboring towns and on to more remote sections. Immediately the highways and by-ways were swarming with armed men on their way to oppose the march of the British regulars. The news from Lexington is said to have reached Fitchburg as early as nine o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth, when signal guns were fired and the company of minute-men, forty-two in number, under Capt. Ebenezer Bridge, took up its line of march, followed by the militia company numbering twenty-nine, under Capt. Ebenezer Woods. They reached Concord the same evening, and on the following morning continued their march to Cambridge, where they joined the ranks of those who had pursued the British in their disastrous rout on the day before.

Since this paper was read before the Society it has been carefully revised and much information added regarding the personal history of the men who served on the quota of Fitchburg; and to this has been added a list of such Revolutionary soldiers as made Fitchburg their home in years subsequent to the war, but whose service was credited to other towns. In collecting this additional information the writer is largely indebted to the assistance of Hon. Ezra S. Stearns of this Society, without whose kindly aid the work could hardly have been undertaken.

Fitchburg, then a town but eleven years from date of incorporation, with a population of probably not over seven hundred, turned out a force numbering in all seventy-one men. Lunenburg sent a company on the twentieth, numbering sixty men under Capt. George Kimball, and probably a company on the nineteenth, under Capt. John Fuller, though the roll of this company has not been found. Leominster sent three companies—one under Capt. John Joslin, numbering forty-one men, one under Capt. Joshua Wood, of thirty-four men, and one under Capt. David Wilder, of twenty-four men. Of the latter company, six were Lunenburg men. Westminster also sent three companies—Capt. Noah Miles, sixty-seven men, Capt. John Estabrook, twenty-six men, and Capt. Elisha Jackson, twenty-five men. Ashburnham responded with two companies—one of thirty-eight men, under Capt. Jonathan Gates, and one of thirty-three men, under Capt. Deliverance Davis. Ashby sent two companies—the first, under Capt. Samuel Stone, of forty-six men, the second (April 20), under Capt. John Jones, of thirty-one men; Townsend sent a company of fifty-seven men, under Capt. James Hosley, one of twenty men, under Capt. Samuel Douglas, and a squad of fourteen, under Lieut. Daniel Sherwin. Shirley sent a company of eighty men, under Capt. Henry Haskell. Thus it appears that this cluster of eight Worcester and Middlesex towns sent forward in the neighborhood of seven hundred men in response to the Lexington alarm.

The retreat of the British troops from Concord and Lexington, with the gathering of the patriot forces at Cambridge, marks the beginning of the memorable siege of Boston, whereby the hostile forces were confined within the limits of that city and their supplies from outside effectually cut off, resulting in the evacuation of the city in March of the following year.

After the stirring events of the nineteenth of April the militia companies gathered at Cambridge were disbanded, with a view to a better organization for active service, and companies were immediately reorganized and men enlisted to serve for eight months. A company was formed, composed of thirty-nine men from Lunenburg and twenty-

three from Fitchburg, under command of Capt. John Fuller of Lunenburg, with Ebenezer Bridge of Fitchburg as lieutenant. Most of the Fitchburg men were from Capt. Bridge's company of minute-men. Another company was recruited, made up largely of Lunenburg men, with seven from Fitchburg, of which Josiah Stearns of Lunenburg was captain, and William Thurlow of Fitchburg lieutenant. Capt. Ebenezer Woods and eleven other Fitchburg men enlisted under Capt. James Burt of Harvard.

While the quota of Fitchburg during the first years of the war was supposed to be eighteen men, it appears that there were at least forty-two men from the town engaged for longer or shorter periods during the siege of Boston, 1775.

A call was made the same year for thirteen thousand coats for the patriot army, the requisition to be apportioned on the several towns in proportion to the amount of their last provincial tax. The schedule of apportionment required of the town of Fitchburg, eighteen coats; of Lunenburg, fifty-seven; of Leominster, forty-three; of Westminster, thirty-seven; of Ashburnham, twelve; of Ashby, twelve, and other towns in proportion. The coats were required to be made of good, plain cloth, preference being given to that manufactured in this country, and were to be delivered to the committee of supplies without buttons. The selectmen were to cause a certificate to be sewed to the inside of each coat, showing from what town it came, and by whom it was made; and if the cloth was made in this country, by whom it was made. The town authorities were assured that the coats furnished should be delivered to the men from the town which furnished them, so far as possible, and the committee of supplies were to have the coats "buttoned with pewter buttons," and the number of the regiment stamped upon the face of the buttons.

In the years subsequent to the evacuation of Boston repeated calls had to be made, and finally a draft was resorted to, in order to keep the quota of the town full. In 1778 a return was made of the male inhabitants of each town of Worcester county, subject to military duty, with the number of men then in service, and the deficiency,

if any, in the quota of each town. The towns of Lunenburg, Leominster, Westminster, Fitchburg and Ashburnham were then included in the regiment of Col. Abijah Stearns of Lunenburg. The returns for those towns were as follows:

	Number of Males.	Quota, 1-7.	In Service.	Deficiency.
Lunenburg,	292	42	39	3
Leominster,	216	31	32	
Westminster,	250	36	25	11
Fitchburg,	169	24	22	2
Ashburnham,	123	17	16	1

Not only was the town required to keep its quota of men full, but it was also called upon to do its share in keeping them supplied with provisions and clothing. In 1778 a requisition was made for each town to furnish as many shirts, pairs of shoes and stockings as would supply the quota of the town, (equal to one seventh of all its male inhabitants liable for military duty). For Fitchburg the number was twenty-four. The action of the town under this call is stated in the following communication on file at the State house in Boston:

"An accompt of the several articles Collected from the inhabitants of the town of Fitchburg for the Cont^d soldiers; and the price of each article as follows viz:

Twenty-four pairs of shoes at 48/—	each pair	£57-12-0
Twenty-four pair of stockings at 30/—	" "	36-00-0
Twenty-one woolen shirts at 60/—	" shirt	63-00-0
Three Linen Shirts at 40/—	" "	6-00-0

FITCHBURG Sept ye 18, 1778.

To John Wate, agent for the County of Worcester:

Sr. We here send you the things that we have collected and the price of each article that we were obliged to give, as you may see in inventory above. We have taken unwearied pains to Compleat our Coto. But through sickness and want of Help we are Disappointed, and Cu^d not make a seasonable Return; for we knew not what we should Collect before. Our spirit is Good but our Help is weak.

Signed

DAVID GOODRIDGE	} <i>Selectmen for Fitchburg.</i>
PHINEHAS HARTWELL.	
ABRAHAM GIBSON	
ELIJAH CARTER	

The purpose of this paper is to give the name, a brief record of the service, and some facts relating to the personal history of every man who served on the quota of

Fitchburg in the Revolutionary war, or who made the town his home in the years after the war.

In specifying the service the term "Lexington alarm" is used to designate those who responded to the alarm of the 19th of April, 1775, and marched to Cambridge.

"Siege of Boston" implies service in the intrenchments about Boston between April 19, 1775, and the evacuation of that city by the British in March, 1776.

"Rhode Island service" includes the men who served in the Rhode Island campaigns under different calls.

"Bennington alarm" applies to those who responded to the call of Gen. Stark and Col. Warner, and marched under Capt. Thurlow and Major Ebenezer Bridge; being dismissed by Gen. Lincoln after marching ninety miles to Charlemont.

"Continental service" includes all who enlisted into the main army of Washington for terms varying from three months to three years, or during the war.

The following list includes only those who are known to have served on

THE QUOTA OF FITCHBURG.

1. JOSEPH ADAMS, sergeant in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company of militia, April 19, 1775, marched in response to the Lexington alarm.

He was a son of Abraham and Mary (Adams) Adams, was born in Newbury, Mass., October 28, 1743, married in Newbury, February 22, 1770, Abigail Thurlow, a daughter of George and Elizabeth (Hale) Thurlow, and a sister of Capt. William Thurlow of Fitchburg. He came to Fitchburg in 1773, and died here July 10, 1778, leaving two daughters. He was buried at South street cemetery. He was a descendant of Robert Adams of Newbury, and not a relative of other families of Adams in this town. Being at the time of his death collector of taxes, his widow, Abigail, assumed the work of collection, and carried it on until relieved by the choice of a new collector by the town.

2. STEPHEN BAILEY was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and served in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775; also in Capt. Elisha Jackson's company, Rhode Island service, 1778.

He was a son of Joseph and Lydia (Parker) Bailey, born in Westminster February 27, 1757.

3. CLARK BANCROFT served in Capt. John Fuller's company in siege of Boston, 1775, and in 1777 he enlisted for three years on the quota of Fitchburg, serving in Col. Putnam's and in Col. Wesson's regiments.

He was a son of Dea. Timothy and Elizabeth (Gary) Bancroft, born in Lunenburg (now Fitchburg), August 26, 1759.

4. JOHN BANCROFT was one of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775.

He was a son of Dea. Timothy and Elizabeth (Gary) Bancroft, born in Lunenburg (now Fitchburg) November 14, 1753. He removed to Rindge, N. H., in 1777, and there resided over forty years, when he removed to Union, Broome county, New York, where he died June 16, 1822. He married, June 20, 1776, Mary Newell, who died October 26, 1833.

5. KENDALL BANCROFT served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, 1775; in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company, 1776, at Dorchester Heights; in Capt. William Thurlow's company, 1777, Bennington alarm, and in Capt. John White's company at Boston, 1778.

He was a son of Joshua and Mary Bancroft, born in Worcester, March 13, 1751. He lived in Fitchburg about ten years, beginning in 1773. He married, March 9, 1775, Susannah Euers, born December 2, 1750, daughter of Henry and Tabitha (Fox) Euers of Concord. Their son Abel was born in Fitchburg March 24, 1776. They removed from Fitchburg to Montague.

6. WILLIAM BEAN was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, marched with his company April 19, and served eight months, 1775, in Capt. John Fuller's company in siege of Boston. In 1777 he was at Bennington, in Capt. Thurlow's company, and the following year a few weeks in Capt. Mirick's company at Boston.

He came to Fitchburg in 1773, married, 1778, Lydia Nutting, and very soon removed.

7. ROGER BIGELOW served four enlistments on the quota of Fitchburg. He was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's

company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and served in Capt. John Fuller's company in the siege of Boston. In 1777 he served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, and in September, October and November of the same year he was one of Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company, Col. Job Cushing's regiment.

He was a son of Uriah and Abigail (Pierce) Bigelow, born probably in Sudbury about 1750. He came to Fitchburg in 1776, married here November 12, 1776, Elizabeth Russell, and two of their eight children were born in Fitchburg. He removed, 1781, to Harvard, where he died. His wife died May 1, 1802.

8. DEA. KENDALL BOUTELL was a lieutenant in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Woods, Lexington alarm, 1775. He served as private in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company at Rhode Island from May 5 to July 12, 1777, and as lieutenant in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777; also lieutenant in Thurlow's company at the capture of Burgoyne's army.

He was a son of James and Judith (Poole) Boutell, and was born in Sudbury April 1, 1737. His parents removed from Reading to Sudbury about 1722, and there eight of their children were born. Later they removed to Leominster. Kendall Boutell married, April 1, 1762, Mary Wilder, born September 19, 1737, a daughter of Gardner and Mary (Phelps) Wilder of Leominster. He removed to Fitchburg before 1764. He died October 19, 1819; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

9. JONATHAN BOYNTON enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg July 10, 1780, and served six months in the Continental army.

He was a son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Wood) Boynton; was born in Rowley, February 11, 1745-6. He came to Fitchburg about 1766. His wife, Elizabeth, died in Fitchburg, May 13, 1792, aged 42; and he married, second, 1792, Mary Hodgkins, who died October 23, 1796. He died April 25, 1814.

10. CAPT. EBENEZER BRIDGE was the leader of the Fitchburg minute-men on the 19th of April, 1775, and marched with his company to Cambridge. He re-enlisted for eight months' service and was commissioned lieutenant of the company under Capt. John Fuller, in the siege of Boston. As major he was in command of a regiment which marched on occasion of an alarm at Bennington—

the regiment being dismissed by Gen. Lincoln, after marching ninety miles. He was also commander of a regiment at Saratoga, sent to reinforce the army of Gen. Gates previous to the capture of Burgoyne's army.

Capt. Bridge was a son of John Bridge of Lexington, born February 3, 1742; he married, November 3, 1763, Mehitable Wood, born December 23, 1741, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah Wood of Lunenburg. They had eleven children, all born in Fitchburg. Their home was on the Richardson road and the house is still standing. Capt. Bridge moved to Hartland, Vt., about 1790, where he died February 13, 1823.

11. PHINEAS BROWN served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777; was a sergeant in Capt. Thurlow's company, 1778, Rhode Island service, and in Capt. Joshua Leland's company of guards at Boston, 1779.

He was a son of Joshua and Mary (Seaver) Brown, was born at Cambridge, 1742, and removed to Fitchburg in 1775. He married at Milton, 1775, Lydia Badcock, who died in Fitchburg, October 3, 1809. He married, second, at Rindge, N. H., June 6, 1811, Elizabeth (Perkins) Sawyer, widow of Abner Sawyer. She died May 1, 1820; he died June 20, 1821. He and his two wives are buried at Dean Hill cemetery.

12. JOHN BURHANCE [or Burhand] of Boston was one of several paid recruits enlisted for the town of Fitchburg for three years' service in the Continental army in 1777, (return made by Capt. Jonathan Wood). He joined Capt. Frothingham's company, Col. Crane's regiment. He served other enlistments which were credited to other towns. He never was a resident of Fitchburg.

13. JOHN BUSS, JR., sergeant in Ebenezer Bridge's company, Col. John Whitcomb's regiment of minute-men, marched on the alarm April 19, 1775, to Cambridge; also private in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, August 22, 1777, under command of Maj. Ebenezer Bridge, by order of Gen. Stark and Col. Warner; dismissed after proceeding ninety miles by Gen. Lincoln.

He was born in Lancaster, January 3, 1739-40, son of John and Eunice Buss of Lancaster, and after 1743 of Lunenburg (now Fitchburg). In 1780 he removed to Marlboro, N. H. He married January 1, 1767, Mary Wood, a daughter of David and Mary (Hovey) Wood. Five children were born in Fitchburg and three in Marlboro. There is no record of his death. His widow died in 1837.

14. ADAM CALDWELL enlisted April 3, 1781, on the quota of Fitchburg, for three years' service in the Continental army.

He was taxed in Fitchburg in the years 1776 to 1779, inclusive. In 1780 (then of Ashby) he married Mary Upton. His tax in Fitchburg for 1781 was abated. A few years later he was a resident of Rockingham, Vermont. He was one of the nine men raised in 1781 to fill the quota of the town to the required number. To accomplish this all those in the town subject to military duty were divided into nine classes, and each class was required to furnish a man. This was done by the offer of a bounty as an inducement to enlist. Adam Caldwell received, in advance, £93 in hard money (about \$465) and mileage for ninety-five miles. Most of the others received as much and some of them more. Their names were John West, Jonathan Fletcher, James Williams, Peter Hawes, Nathaniel Russell, Amos Derby, Azariah Fuller and Cæsar Carter.

15. CHRISTOPHER CAPEN is credited on the rolls in the State archives to Fitchburg, for service in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company at Dorchester Heights in the autumn of 1776. He never resided in this town.

16. TIMOTHY CARLTON served in Capt. Fuller's company on the quota of Lunenburg, in siege of Boston, 1775. He enlisted June 2, 1777, on the quota of Fitchburg for three years in the Continental army, joined Capt. Smith's company, Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment, was at the capture of Burgoyne's army and experienced the rigors of Valley Forge. He was discharged June 2, 1780. For this service he was claimed by Lunenburg because he was a resident of that town, but he was allowed on the quota of Fitchburg.

He was a son of Abraham and Mary (Clark) Carlton, born in Lunenburg, May 1, 1753. He removed to Charlestown, N. H.

17. ABIJAH CARTER served three enlistments on the quota of Fitchburg. He was one of Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company at Dorchester Heights in the autumn of 1776; of Lieut. Samuel Stickney's company of Major Bridge's regiment at Saratoga, 1777; and also served in Capt. Boutell's company to reinforce the Continental army three months in 1780.

He was a son of Josiah and Tabitha (Hough) Carter of Leominster, born September 5, 1761. He married in Leominster, 1781, Nancy

Warner, and removed to Jaffrey N. H. In 1787 he removed to Rindge, N. H., and a few years later to Bridgeton, Maine, where he died. They had fifteen children.

18. CÆSAR CARTER enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg, December 3, 1781, to serve during the war in the Continental army.

He was born a slave in 1765. In the descriptive list his stature is four feet nine inches, age sixteen years, complexion black. He was the last of nine men enlisted in 1781 for three years, to fill the quota of the town to the required number. Each of the other men under this call received a bounty of from eighty to one hundred and five pounds "hard money" and advance mileage, but in Cæsar Carter's case no bounty is mentioned.

19. THOMAS COWDIN was commissioned as captain October 26, 1779, of a company in Col. Samuel Denny's regiment, raised to reinforce the Continental army at New York for three months. He was captain of the Fitchburg company of militia in Col. Rand's Worcester County regiment, commissioned July 6, 1780.

Thomas Cowdin, Esquire, was the eldest son of James and Janet (Craige) Cowdin, and was born in Ireland, December 25, 1720. He came in his boyhood to America, learned the trade of a blacksmith and settled in Worcester. He married, November 19, 1748, Experience Grey of Worcester. She died April 3, 1760, and he married, second, October 2, 1761, Widow Hannah Craige of Rutland, Mass. He was a veteran of the French and Indian wars,—was engaged in the capture of Louisburg in 1745, and was in command of a company in the military operations in the vicinity of Crown Point in 1762. In 1764 he came to Fitchburg, purchased the inn of Samuel Hunt on Pearl street, later known as the Gen. Wood place. He was a prominent and honored citizen of Fitchburg. He died April 22, 1792, and his widow, Hannah, died July 30, 1822. Buried in South street cemetery.

20. THOMAS COWDIN, JR., served as corporal in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Maj. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment; and marched in response to the alarm at Bennington, August, 1777, the company being dismissed after marching ninety miles, by order of Gen. Lincoln.

He was the eldest son of Capt. Thomas and Experience (Grey) Cowdin, born in Worcester, March 7, 1754, came with his father's family to Fitchburg in 1764; married, 1774, Mary Farrington of Lunenburg. He died in Fitchburg, April 3, 1835; his widow, Mary (Farrington), died April 19, 1835, aged eighty-seven years; both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. They had thirteen children.

21. JONATHAN CUMMINGS was one of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, and of Capt. James Burt's company, siege of Boston, 1775. He enlisted May 10, 1777, for three years in the Continental army, and served in Capt. Smith's company, Col. Bigelow's regiment. He was at Valley Forge through the winter of 1777-78. He was discharged May 10, 1780.

He was a son of Samuel and Sarah (Hastings) Cummings, born in Lunenburg, November 20, 1748. He married, June 5, 1769, Hannah Fletcher, a daughter of Robert and Elizabeth (Houghton) Fletcher of Lancaster. He lived in Fitchburg until 1826, when he removed to Chesterfield, N. H.

22. NICHOLAS DANFORTH served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, 1775.

He was a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Hosley) Danforth, born in Billerica, December 8, 1734. He came to Fitchburg in 1763. He married in Billerica, March 30, 1758, Elizabeth Jaquith, a daughter of Abraham and Hannah (Farley) Jaquith. About 1780 he removed to Hartland, Vermont, where he lived ten or more years. He died at Stillwater, New York, about 1810.

23. JAMES DANFORTH served at Cambridge in 1778 in guarding the prisoners of Gen. Burgoyne's army, being in Capt. Peter Woodbury's company. The following year he served one month and eleven days at Governor's and Castle Islands in Capt. Henry's company; and in 1780 he enlisted for three months as a recruit to reinforce the Continental army.

He was a son of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Jaquith) Danforth, born in Billerica, December, 28, 1760. He married, November 28, 1782, Hannah Reed of Lexington, a daughter of William and Abigail (Stone) Reed. He removed to Hartland, Vermont.

24. SAMUEL DANFORTH served in Capt. Wyman's company of Col. Patterson's regiment, siege of Boston, in the autumn of 1775; in Capt. Joslin's company, Col. Cushing's regiment, at Bennington, 1777. in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Maj. Ebenezer Bridge, at Saratoga, 1777, and in Capt. Ephraim Stearns' company, of Col. Wood's regiment on the Hudson river in 1778.

He was a son of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Jaquith) Danforth, born in Billerica, May 11, 1759, and came to Fitchburg in childhood. He married, 1780, Sarah England, and soon after removed to Windsor, Vt.

25. AMOS DERBY was a veteran of the French and Indian war, having served, 1755, from July to December in Capt. Daniel Brewer's company; in 1757, from April to October in Capt. Thomas Adams' company. In the Revolution he served eight months, 1775, in Capt. Joseph Butler's company, in siege of Boston; a sergeant in Capt. Jesse Wyman's company at Rhode Island from May 7 to May 30, 1777, and in June, 1777, he enlisted on the quota of Concord into the Continental army for three years, serving in Col. Bigelow's regiment. He removed to Fitchburg in the early spring of 1781, and here enlisted, May 1, 1781, into the Continental army for three years, on the quota of Fitchburg, receiving therefor a bounty of £93 and advance pay for ninety-three miles travel. He was discharged from the service by reason of disability, after serving some over two years. His discharge paper, signed by Gen. Washington and Jonathan Trumbull, dated July 10, 1783, is still preserved by one of his descendants of the third generation, Mr. James P. Derby of this city.

Amos Derby was a son of Ebenezer and Eunice (Tarbox) Derby, was born in Concord, December 30, 1732, and died in Fitchburg in 1784 or early in 1785; buried in South street cemetery.

26. JOSEPH DOWNE was in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, April 19, 1775, Lexington alarm, and was a sergeant in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Saratoga, 1777.

He was a son of William and Margaret (Fitch) Downe, was born in Boston, December 30, 1742. The family moved to Lunenburg (now Fitchburg), when Joseph was three years of age. He married in 1768 Martha Wood, born in Lunenburg, July 15, 1749, daughter of David and Mary (Hovey) Wood. They lived in Fitchburg, where he died February 20, 1828; his wife, Martha, died June 29, 1812; both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. They had eight children.

27. SAMUEL DOWNE was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men April 19, 1775, and served in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775; in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, and in Capt. Thurlow's company, 1777, at Saratoga.

He was a son of William and Margaret (Fitch) Downe, born January 17, 1745. He married, January 1, 1771, Eunice Wentworth, born in Harvard, December 18, 1750, daughter of Moses and Mindwell (Stone)

Wentworth. Three of their children were born in this town. They removed to Vermont about 1780. He died in Cavendish, January 8, 1830. Eunice, his widow, died November 28, 1841.

28. EDWARD ELLSWORTH served in Capt. Bridge's company of minute-men, April 19, 1775, enlisted in Capt. Thomas Mighill's company, Col. Baldwin's regiment, siege of Boston, and participated in the battle of Bunker Hill.

He was a son of Thomas and Lucy (Hidden) Ellsworth, was born in Rowley, Mass., March 25, 1747; married, April 5, 1770, Sarah Dickinson, who died January 18, 1771. He married, second, March 2, 1772, Mary Jewett. They removed to Fitchburg in 1773, where two children were born. He removed about 1780 to Littleton.

29. ABRAHAM FARWELL was a corporal in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company which marched on the alarm from Lexington, April 19, 1775. He remained at Cambridge until May 2.

He was a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Moors) Farwell, born at Groton, August 18, 1743. He came to Fitchburg 1769, married, 1770, Priscilla Thurston, a daughter of Dea. John and Lydia (Kimball) Thurston. Eight children were born in this town. Record of his death is not found. She died December 31, 1837.

30. JOHN FARWELL served in the Lexington alarm, being a corporal in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company on the 19th of April, 1775. Service six days.

He was a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Moors) Farwell, born in Groton January 27, 1745. He came to Fitchburg in 1766, married, 1769, Sarah Hovey, born in Boxford, November 19, 1746, daughter of Abijah and Lydia (Graves) Hovey of Lunenburg. They lived in Fitchburg, date of death not recorded.

31. JOSEPH FARWELL was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, April 19, 1775; joined Capt. John Fuller's company, served eight months in the siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Moors) Farwell, born in Groton, March 27, 1754. He came to Fitchburg just before the opening of the war, married, August 27, 1777, Eunice Goodridge, youngest daughter of Dea. David and Elizabeth (Martin) Goodridge. He lived in Fitchburg, where he died December 15, 1827.

32. LEVI FARWELL was one of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, and responded to the alarm of

April 19, 1775, remaining in the service thirteen days. He was a temporary resident here, and soon removed to Chesterfield, N. H., and there enlisted in June, 1777, for three years, serving in Col. Scammel's regiment. He was discharged in January, 1778.

He married, 1780, Judith Bingham, and disappears from the records of Chesterfield about 1805.

33. JONATHAN FLETCHER came to Fitchburg in 1780, served on the quota of the town three months to reinforce the Continental army, from July 26 to October 10, 1780. He reinlisted April 9, 1781, into the Continental army for three years, being one of the nine men raised by the town that year by the payment of bounties. He received the highest amount of any of the number—one hundred and five pounds hard money, and mileage in advance.

He was a son of William and Mary (Blodgett) Fletcher, born in Litchfield, N. H., December 31, 1747. Previous to his removal to this place he had served one or more enlistments. He married, 1784, Rebecca Corey of Chelmsford. He lived in the northwest part of this town, removing some time after 1790 to Chelmsford. He was a mason by trade.

34. JOSEPH FOX, a faithful and honored townsman of Fitchburg, came here from Littleton in 1772. In October, 1774, he was chosen second lieutenant of the Fitchburg company of militia. He was first lieutenant of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, and marched with the company at the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, remaining at Cambridge nineteen days.

Joseph Fox, Esquire, was one of twelve children of Capt. John and Sarah (Hoar) Fox of Littleton, where he was born June 20, 1744; married Mary Tuttle of that town, and on removing to Fitchburg commenced business as a shoemaker. He soon opened what was long known as the "red store" on the spot now occupied by Dickinson's block, where he carried on an extensive business in general merchandise. He held a commission as justice of the peace, and during his active career was chosen to many positions of honor and trust. In 1775 he succeeded Thomas Cowdin as town clerk, and in May of the same year was chosen delegate to the Provincial congress to be held at Watertown. For four years he represented the town in the General Court. He died February 13, 1823; his wife, Mary, died February 14, 1794; both buried in South street cemetery. Of their six children, Oliver became a prominent manufacturer in Fitchburg.

35. BENJAMIN FROST served in Capt. William Thurlow's company under command of Major Ebenezer Bridge, on the alarm at Bennington in August, 1777.

He came to Fitchburg in 1772, and married, December 3, of that year, Rachel Kimball, a daughter of Ephraim and Mary (Wetherbee) Kimball. He lived here until 1783, when he removed to Jaffrey, N. H., where he died, April 12, 1819.

36. TIMOTHY FULLAM served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and in Capt. John Joslin's company at the battle of Bennington, 1777.

He was a son of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam, born in Weston, December 3, 1742. He married, 1765, Elizabeth Thompson; removed, 1798, from Fitchburg to Cavendish, Vt., and in 1818 to Reading, Vt., where he died September 10, 1829. Francis Fullam, the father, a son of Jacob and grandson of Hon. Francis Fullam, removed from Weston to Lancaster, and from Lancaster to Fitchburg, previous to date of incorporation. He died February 8, 1807, aged ninety years. His sons were Timothy, Francis, Phineas, Jacob and Oliver, and all were soldiers in the Revolution.

37. FRANCIS FULLAM served on the quota of Fitchburg in Capt. Elisha Jackson's company, Rhode Island service.

He was a son of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam, and grandson of Jacob Fullam, who was killed in an encounter with the Indians known as Lovewell's fight, May 8, 1725, at Fryeburg, Me. It is said that he and his adversary both fell at the same instant by each others' shot. An old song has the following:

"Young Fullam, too, I'll mention, because he fought so well;
Trying to save another man, a sacrifice he fell."

Francis Fullam left Fitchburg and settled in Fitzwilliam, N. H., where he died February 12, 1823.

38. PHINEAS FULLAM served in Capt. Ephraim Stearns' company, of Col. Ezra Wood's regiment, with the army on the Hudson river, seven months, in 1778.

He was son of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam, born in Weston, February 26, 1749. He married, December 26, 1775, Lucy Lamson of Concord, and removed, 1779, to Chesterfield, N. H., where he died August 4, 1823.

39. JACOB FULLAM served in Capt. William Thurlow's company on the alarm at Bennington, 1777.

He was son of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam, born in Lancaster, September 13, 1757, and came to Fitchburg with his father's family previous to the date of incorporation. He married Lois ———,

and ten children were born in Fitchburg, 1785-1807. He died February 8, 1846; Lois, his wife, died October 17, 1844; buried at Laurel Hill cemetery.

40. OLIVER FULLAM served in Capt. John Joslin's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment and was engaged in the battle of Bennington; also in Capt. Ephraim Stearns' company seven months in 1778, on Hudson river.

Son of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam, born in Lancaster, November 29, 1761. He married, September 27, 1793, Elizabeth Barrett. Ten children were born in this town. He died November 17, 1836. His widow, a pensioner, died February 23, 1852. Both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

41. AZARIAH FULLER enlisted July 11, 1781, for three years on the quota of Fitchburg, and served in Capt. Wottles' company of the Continental army until 1783. He received on enlistment a bounty of one hundred and two pounds, "hard money" and advance mileage.

He was a son of Nehemiah and Mary (Conant) Fuller, born in Fitchburg, May 28, 1764. He married, 1784, Mercy Bemis, daughter of Zaccheus and Elizabeth (Lyon) Bemis of Westminster. He lived in Westminster, Somers, Conn., Oakham and Rutland. In 1800 he returned to Fitchburg and here resided until 1841, when he removed to Hingham, where he died March 12, 1846. In 1840 he was one of the eight pensioners resident of Fitchburg.

42. JOSEPH FULLER served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Major Ebenezer Bridge's regiment, at Saratoga, 1777; in Capt. Ephraim Stearns' company of Col. Wood's regiment in 1778; service on the Hudson river.

He was son of Nehemiah and Mary (Conant) Fuller, born in Fitchburg, July 22, 1759. He married, 1789, Eunice Dodge, daughter of Seth and Sarah (Smith) Dodge. He lived in Notown and in Fitchburg until 1834. He died in Holden, October 20, 1837.

43. NEHEMIAH FULLER served in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company at Clavernack, three months in 1779, and three months in the Continental army in 1780.

He was son of Nehemiah and Mary (Conant) Fuller, born in Fitchburg, July 23, 1762. He married, April 16, 1789, Hannah Wiswall (Newhall in Worcester records). He lived in Fitchburg until after 1790.

44. STEPHEN FULLER served in Capt. John Fuller's company, in siege of Boston, 1775; from June to November, 1776, he was in Capt. William Warner's company,

Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, on duty near Boston. In December, 1777, he enlisted for three years' service in the Continental army, joining Capt. Sylvanus Smith's company, of Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment; discharged June 2, 1780. In this service he was claimed by Lunenburg, but was allowed on the quota of Fitchburg.

He was the eldest son of Nehemiah and Mary (Conant) Fuller, born in Fitchburg, August 19, 1757. He married, February 4, 1781, Anne Lippenwell, daughter of Reuben and Anna (Wyman) Lippenwell of Lancaster. He left Fitchburg soon after his marriage. He died in Lee, April 25, 1835. (Another record says he died July 29, 1834).

45. ELIJAH GARFIELD, at the Lexington alarm served as sergeant in Capt. David Wilder's company of minutemen from Leominster, and was in the service ten days.

He was a son of Benjamin and Abigail (Harrington) Garfield, and grandson of Samuel and Mary (Bowman) Garfield; was born in Waltham, 1741. His father was killed by the Indians, 1756. Elijah Garfield, married in Leominster, May 21, 1771, Jane Nichols, born February 24, 1747, daughter of Israel and Lucy Nichols. The same year he settled in this town. He carried on the tannery business and built the mansion house on Pearl street, opposite the head of Lincoln street, which is still standing. He died March 23, 1794; buried in South street cemetery. In the Revolution he was prominent in town affairs and frequently a committee to fill the several quotas. His widow, Jane (Nichols), married second, March 8, 1809, Rev. Phinehas Whitney of Shirley. She died in Shirley, March 4, 1824.

46. BENJAMIN GARY enlisted February 28, 1777, into the Continental army on the quota of Fitchburg, for three years. and by re-enlistment continued in the service until 1783. His father, Thomas Gary, served in the same company, both being in Capt. Joseph Morse's company, later Capt. Gardner's company of Col. Rufus Putnam's regiment.

Son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Farwell) Gary, born in Fitchburg, September 19, 1760. He married in Fitchburg, 1784, Sarah Davis. He removed about 1786 to Shirley.

47. THOMAS GARY served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and was corporal in Capt. John Fuller's company in siege of Boston, 1775. In 1777 he served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, and the same year he enlisted

for three years, serving in Col. Rufus Putnam's regiment, and by re-enlistment he continued in the Continental service as late as April, 1781.

He was born about 1737, son of Benjamin Gary, who settled early on a farm adjoining the farm of Dea. Timothy Bancroft, near the site of Burbank Hospital. He married, February 21, 1760, Elizabeth Farwell of Townsend, a daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Moors) Farwell, born in Groton, January 19, 1739. Three children were born in this town. After the war he removed to Leominster.

48. ISAAC GIBSON was one of the twenty-nine men in the company under Capt. Ebenezer Woods, which marched in response to the alarm at Lexington, April 19, 1775,—served eleven days.

He was a son of Dea. Timothy and Rebecca (Gates) Gibson, born in Sudbury, April 27, 1721, married first, February 4, 1744, Keziah Johnson, born September 27, 1725, daughter of Dea. Samuel and Rebecca Johnson of Lunenburg. She (the mother of all his twelve children), died February 7, 1766. He married second, November 27, 1766, widow Abigail Bennett of Leominster. About 1744, he and his brother Reuben came to Lunenburg (now Fitchburg), and settled on Pearl hill, on adjoining farms. In the perilous times of the French and Indian wars, Isaac's house was one of the five garrison houses in the limits of the future town of Fitchburg. He was a prominent and useful citizen—active and helpful in town affairs. About 1787 he removed with other members of the family to Grafton, Vt., where he died June 1, 1797. His widow died there, November 26, 1808, aged eighty-one years. Five of his sons served on the quota of Fitchburg.

49. JOHN GIBSON was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, April 19, 1775, Lexington alarm; enlisted in Capt. Abijah Wyman's company, Col. William Prescott's regiment,—was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, in which action he was killed.

He was a son of Isaac Gibson (No. 48 above), born July 29, 1747; married, September 16, 1766, Hannah Martin, daughter of John and Elizabeth Martin of Lunenburg. She married second, 1780, Phineas Farnsworth of Harvard. So far as known, John Gibson was the only Fitchburg soldier killed in battle during the war.

50. NATHANIEL GIBSON was in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and enlisted in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, the same year, for eight months' service.

He was a son of Isaac Gibson (No. 48 above), born February 22, 1753; married first, June 25, 1776, Hannah Brown, born 1753, daughter of Daniel and Anna (Bright) Brown of Lexington; married second, July 6, 1791, Mrs. Kesiah Hayward of Grafton, Vt. He removed with others of the family to Grafton, Vt., and died at Salisbury, Vt., before 1824; eight children.

51. JONATHAN GIBSON was a member of Capt. Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, marched to Cambridge, and served in Capt. John Fuller's company, in the siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Isaac Gibson (No. 48 of this list), born December 22, 1754; married, 1778, Bathsheba Bennett, daughter of Mrs. Abigail (Bennett) Gibson, his father's second wife. By an agreement signed in 1786 he was to provide a home for his father and step-mother during their lives. He removed to Grafton, Vt.

52. DAVID GIBSON was corporal in a company commanded by Capt. Joseph Sargent of Princeton, sixty-seven days, May to July, 1777, service at Rhode Island, under Gen. Spencer.

He was a son of Isaac (No. 48 of this list), born January, 22, 1757; married, April 29, 1778, Anna Barton of Sutton. He was a baker; his house was on the site of the present city hall (the first house built in this part of the village) and his bakery was "across the road from his house," on the lot known as the Ebenezer Torrey place. He removed with his brothers and father to Grafton, Vt., where he was living as late as 1815. His wife died in Grafton, November 23, 1815, aged fifty-nine years. Eight children.

53. SOLOMON GIBSON served twenty-five days in Capt. William Thurlow's company, under Maj. Ebenezer Bridge, at Saratoga, called out to reinforce the army of Gen. Gates, previous to the surrender of Burgoyne's army.

He was a son of Isaac Gibson (No. 48 of this list), born November 19, 1758; married, January 27, 1785, Sarah Willard. He died in Fitchburg, March 17, 1820. They had nine children.

54. CAPT. REUBEN GIBSON was sergeant in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' militia company, which marched in response to the alarm of April 19, and served eleven days.

He was a brother of Isaac (No. 48 of this list), born in Sudbury, February 14, 1725; married, November 13, 1746, Lois Smith of Sudbury, born November 1, 1726. He settled on the easterly slope of Pearl hill, his farm adjoining that of his brother Isaac—the deed of land from their father bearing date 1744, which probably marks the date of their

settlement here. He was called to important positions in town affairs, being chosen selectman of Fitchburg on the incorporation of the town, and often appointed on important committees,—his title of captain being acquired in the town militia. Four of his sons served on the quota of Fitchburg. He died July 27, 1800; his widow died November 22, 1816; both buried in South street cemetery.

55. REUBEN GIBSON, JR., a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' militia company, marched in response to the alarm of April 19, 1775—service six days.

He was a son of Capt. Reuben and Lois (Smith) Gibson (No. 54 above), born in Fitchburg, September 21, 1748; married, February 8, 1774, Betsey Gibson, born in Stow, Mass., June 6, 1750, a daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Forristall) Gibson. He died April 20, 1836; his wife died September 12, 1824; both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

56. ABRAHAM GIBSON was in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company of militia which marched on the alarm at Lexington, April 19, 1775; in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company, one month fifteen days, autumn of 1777, "at the northward;" in Capt. John White's company, spring of 1778, service two months and twenty-three days, at and about Boston; in Capt. Peter Woodbury's company of guards, three months, July to October, 1778, at Cambridge; and in Capt. Timothy Boutell's company, three months, July to October, 1780; raised to reinforce the Continental army.

He was a son of Capt. Reuben and Lois (Smith) Gibson (No. 54), born August 15, 1752; married, October 13, 1778, Mary Brown, born in Lexington, May 5, 1758, daughter of Daniel and Mary (Bright) Brown. About 1795 he removed to Ashburnham, and from there a few years later to Leicester, Vt., where he died April 10, 1829; his widow died March 3, 1835.

57. THOMAS GIBSON was in Capt. Josiah Stearns' company in 1775, siege of Boston; also in Capt. William Thurlow's company, under Maj. Bridge, to reinforce Gen. Gates in the autumn of 1777, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne's army; and served in Capt. John White's company, two months nineteen days, spring of 1778, at and about Boston.

He was the fourth child of Capt. Reuben Gibson (No. 54 of this list), born at the Pearl hill home, November 19, 1753; married, April 1, 1783, Relief Hartwell, daughter of Phineas and Mary (Pierce) Hartwell

of Fitchburg. Soon after his marriage he removed to Ashburnham, settled on a farm in the southeasterly part of the farm, and died there June 11, 1841. He was a pensioner in the latter years of his life. His widow, Relief (Hartwell), died October 19, 1849.

58. BEZALEEL GIBSON was in Capt. William Henry's company one month and eleven days, October and November, 1778, at Castle and Governor's Islands, Boston.

He was a son of Capt. Reuben Gibson of Pearl hill (No. 54 of this list), born 1761; married, November 23, 1784, Lois Billings of Acton, Mass. He removed to Ashby, where he died November 17, 1840. His widow died in Ashby, October 27, 1854.

59. LIEUT. ABRAHAM GIBSON was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service seven days.

He was a nephew of Isaac and Capt. Reuben (of this list), son of Abraham and Mary (Wheeler) Gibson of Stow, born June 25, 1735. He married Esther Fox, daughter of Thomas and Rebecca Fox of Concord, Mass.; came to Fitchburg in 1768, and was a resident here twelve or more years. He died in Lunenburg, September 9, 1813. His widow died in Rindge, N. H., April 30, 1803. He had been a lieutenant in the French and Indian war. He had eight children, five of whom were daughters. Of these, Mary married William Wyman of Lunenburg, Rebecca married John Priest of Fitchburg, and Lucy married Peter Adams of Townsend, all Revolutionary soldiers. Among his descendants who have made themselves famous are the well known artists, Charles Dana Gibson and the late William Hamilton Gibson.

60. JOSEPH GILSON was in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; enlisted in Capt. John Fuller's company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, in siege of Boston. In 1777 he enlisted for three years' service in the Continental army on the quota of Fitchburg and served in the company under Capt. White in Col. Putnam's regiment. At the expiration of two years' service he reenlisted for three years or during the war, serving in same company and regiment.

He was a son of Jonas and Hannah (Goodridge) Gilson, born in Lunenburg, September 16, 1738. He married in Fitchburg, May 5, 1768, Esther Pierce, a daughter of David and Elizabeth (Bowers) Pierce. Soon after the war he removed to Walpole, N. H.

61. DAVID GOODALE served in Capt. James Burt's company in the siege of Boston, 1775.

A son of David and Lydia (Putnam) Goodale, born at Salem Village, now Danvers, December 16, 1738; he married, at Bolton, April 10, 1764, Elizabeth Hutchinson, born at Middleton, Mass., February 4, 1747, a daughter of Joseph and Hannah (Richardson) Hutchinson. He removed to Fitchburg in 1768, living in the south part of the town, where he and his father owned a mill. After the Revolution he lived in Jaffrey, Amherst, Milford, and other towns in New Hampshire. He died in Hillsborough, N. H., June 20, 1829. His wife died August 29, 1835. He was the great-grandfather of former governor David H. Goodell of Antrim, N. H. His parents lived here several years and his brother, Andrew Goodale, born November 11, 1765, married Patty Haskell, and lived many years in Fitchburg, dying at Amherst, Mass. His sister Judith, born April 20, 1761, was the wife of Daniel Harris (No. 67 of this list). [The Fitchburg Historical Society is indebted to Lucy Hall Greenlaw for the record of this soldier].

62. ASAPH GOODRIDGE served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company, in siege of Boston, 1775, and in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Saratoga, 1777.

He was a son of Dea. David and Elizabeth (Martin) Goodridge, born in Fitchburg, June 28, 1751. He married, May 26, 1774, Phebe Walker. Nine children were born in this town.

63. EZEKIEL GOODRIDGE served on the quota of Fitchburg in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company, Col. Nicholas Dike's regiment, at Dorchester Heights in 1776.

He was a son of Ezekiel and Rebecca (Goodridge) Goodridge, born in Lunenburg, May 5, 1755. He was a resident of Lunenburg in 1790, but no record of his death has been found.

64. JOHN GOODRIDGE served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men Lexington alarm, and in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775. He was a corporal in Capt. John Joslin's company at Bennington, 1777. He was a major in the militia.

He was a son of Dea. David and Elizabeth (Martin) Goodridge, born in Fitchburg, March 17, 1755. He married, 1768, Desire Nichols, born February 14, 1755, daughter of Israel and Lucy Nichols of Leominster. She died in 1788. He married second, 1789, Prudence Butler. He died April 13, 1834; buried in South street cemetery.

65. ABRAHAM HAGER was a member of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, and of Capt. James Burt's company, siege of Boston, 1775. In 1777 he enlisted in the quota of Shrewsbury, and served three years in the Continental army.

He was a son of William and Mary (Warren) Hager, born in Weston, March 11, 1755. He married in Shrewsbury, 1781, Dolly Newton, who died in Shrewsbury, February 11, 1786. He married in 1786, Thankful Newton, and subsequently removed to Princeton, where he died, July 5, 1790.

66. EBENEZER HARRINGTON served in Capt. John Fuller's company eight months in siege of Boston, 1775. In 1777 he enlisted into the Continental army, and served three years in Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment.

He was a son of Richard and Abigail (Hammond) Harrington, born in Lexington, March 16, 1743. He came to Fitchburg in 1764; married, November 26, 1767, Martha Witt, a daughter of Isaiah Witt. At close of the war he removed to Westmoreland, N. H.

67. DANIEL HARRIS served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775; in Col. Jackson's regiment at Hull, 1776, and also served two enlistments in the Continental army. He was engaged at Bunker Hill, Brandywine and Germantown, and was in the army on the Hudson at the discovery of the treason of Gen. Arnold.

He was son of Thomas and Lucy (Peirce) Harris, was born at Dorchester, July 26, 1752, came to Fitchburg 1765. He married, June 15, 1780, Judith Goodale, a daughter of David and Lydia (Putnam) Goodale of Fitchburg. He lived in this town and died here, December 16, 1820; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

68. NATHAN HARRIS, a transient resident, was a volunteer in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777; company marched August 22, under Major Ebenezer Bridge, and was dismissed at Charlemont by Gen. Lincoln.

69. SAMUEL HARRIS served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, April 19, Lexington alarm; in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, and was a corporal in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Major Bridge, at Saratoga, 1777.

He was a son of Thomas and Lucy (Peirce) Harris, born in Dorchester, July 26, 1752. He came to Fitchburg with his parents in 1765. He married, 1778, Lucy Fullam, a daughter of Francis and Susannah (Hammond) Fullam of Fitchburg. He died in 1841; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

70. THOMAS HARRIS served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. James Burt's company, siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Nathaniel and Hannah (Fullam) Harris, born in Needham, October 31, 1718. The family removed to Watertown about 1720. He married in Watertown, August 22, 1745, Lucy Peirce, a daughter of Samuel and Rebecca (Converse) Peirce. He lived in Dorchester and was a miller there until 1765, when he removed to Fitchburg, and here died soon after the close of the Revolution. His widow, Lucy, died January 19, 1798; buried in South street cemetery.

71. ASAHIEL HARTWELL was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company which marched on the 19th of April, 1775, Lexington alarm; service twelve days.

He was a son of Edward, Jr., and Elizabeth (Kneeland) Hartwell, born in Lunenburg, August 24, 1749. He removed to Fitchburg in 1773. He married, 1776, Abigail Walker. He removed about 1780 to Westmoreland, N. H., and in 1792 to Stillwater, N. Y., where he died, 1844. His wife died, 1822.

72. ABIJAH HARTWELL, private in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, August 22, 1777, under command of Major Ebenezer Bridge, dismissed after proceeding ninety miles by Gen. Lincoln; in Capt. Thurlow's company, Major Bridge, at Saratoga; also in Capt. Thurlow's company, Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, one month and fifteen days, at Rhode Island, summer of 1778.

He was a son of Phineas and Mary (Peirce) Hartwell, born July 28, 1761. The family removed from Lunenburg to Fitchburg, 1765. He married, March 10, 1805, Olive Smith, who died July 7, 1806. He married second, January 11, 1809, Sarah Gray. He died in Fitchburg, April 30, 1820. His wife, Sarah, died June 15, 1850.

73. EDWARD HARTWELL served as corporal in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, sergeant in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Edward, Jr. and Elizabeth (Kneeland) Hartwell, born in Lunenburg, August 22, 1747. He married, December 9, 1776, Lydia White. He removed to Fitchburg, in 1774 and in 1780, he removed, with other families of Fitchburg, to Canaan, Me. He died March 30, 1844. His wife died April 21, 1837.

74. EPHRAIM HARTWELL served as fifer in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm,

April 19, 1775; service fifteen days; also private in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, August, 1777, under Major Ebenezer Bridge; company dismissed by Gen. Lincoln after proceeding ninety miles.

He was a son of Phineas and Mary (Peirce) Hartwell, born in Lunenburg, October 7, 1755. The family removed to Fitchburg, 1765, living near Scott reservoir. He married, ———, 1778, Betsey Polley, born March 7, 1759, daughter of Joseph Polley. He died November 11, 1838. His wife died February 9, 1833.

75. SOLOMON HARTWELL, private in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service fourteen days; also in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm; company dismissed after proceeding ninety miles by Gen. Lincoln.

He was a son of Edward Jr. and Elizabeth (Kneeland) Hartwell, born July 18, 1751. He removed to Fitchburg, 1773. He married, September 21, 1774, Dorcas Polley, daughter of Joseph Polley. About 1800 he removed to Worcester, N. Y., where he died September 12, 1847; his wife died June 20, 1820.

76. THOMAS HARTWELL, private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company of militia, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service thirteen days; also in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Major Ebenezer Bridge, Bennington alarm; company dismissed after marching ninety miles by Gen. Lincoln.

He was a son of Edward Jr. and Elizabeth (Kneeland) Hartwell, born in Lunenburg, June 5, 1740. He married, May 9, 1765, Prudence Carter, born June 15, 1746, daughter of Thomas and Betty (Sawyer) Carter of Lunenburg. He removed to Fitchburg, 1773, removing late in life to Alstead, N. H., where he died November 2, 1820. His wife died January 29, 1818.

77. WILLIAM HASELTINE appears on the roll of Capt. Josiah Stearns' company, October 6, 1775, siege of Boston, as from Fitchburg.

He was a son of Amos and Eunice (Gilson) Haseltine, born in Lunenburg, May 8, 1755. He never resided in Fitchburg.

78. PETER HAWES (or Hews), under the call for six months men in 1780 to reinforce the Continental army, was hired by the town to serve on the quota of Fitchburg; marched July 10, 1780. He was also engaged for

the town of Fitchburg, May 27, 1781, for three years' service in the Continental army; reported died October 18, 1781. He was nineteen years of age.

He came to Fitchburg in 1780 and was taxed for that year. On May 27, 1780, he made application to Town Clerk Thomas Cowdin "to be published to Hannah Nutten of Ashby."

79. BENJAMIN HERRICK was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' militia company, April 19, 1775, Lexington alarm; service four days.

He was born in Reading. He married, in Billerica, November 19, 1778, Elizabeth Kidder, a daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Lambert) Kidder. He was in Fitchburg 1775, and later lived a short time in Reading, returning to Fitchburg in 1781. He died October 30, 1825.

80. ZACHARIAH HILDRAK [Hildreth] of Boston, was one of twelve men raised in 1777 to serve on the quota of Fitchburg for three years in the Continental army. He joined Capt. Langdon's company, Col. Jackson's regiment; return made by Capt. Jonathan Wood of Fitchburg.

He never resided here, and was doubtless a hired recruit, as no further record of him is found.

81. ROBERT HILL of Lunenburg was one of twelve men raised in 1777 to serve in the Continental army for three years in the quota of Fitchburg, as returned by Capt. Jonathan Wood. He joined Capt. Sylvanus Smith's company, Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment.

Being a resident of Lunenburg, that town claimed his service, but again the committee decided in favor of Fitchburg. He never resided in this town.

82. THOMAS HILL served in Capt. James Burt's company three months and thirteen days, from April 26, 1775, siege of Boston; also in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, August 22, 1777; also same company twenty-five days under Major Ebenezer Bridge at Saratoga.

He was a son of John and Jane (Wallis) Hill, born in Lunenburg, August 14, 1751. He came to Fitchburg 1773.

83. AARON HODGKINS served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. John Fuller's

company, siege of Boston, 1775; in Capt. Joslin's company at Bennington, 1777, and in Capt. William Thurlow's company in Rhode Island, 1778.

He was a son of Hezekiah and Ruth Hodgkins, born in Ipswich, August 29, 1751. The family came to Fitchburg before 1758. He married, July 19, 1773, Phebe Wentworth, a sister of the wife of Samuel Downe (No. 27 of this list). They removed about 1780 to Walpole, N. H., where he died.

84. ELIJAH HOLT served on the quota of Fitchburg, in Capt. John Joslin's company, at Bennington, 1777; in Capt. Elisha Jackson's and Capt. Benjamin Edgell's companies, of Col. John Jacob's regiment, from June 26, 1778, to January 1, 1779.

He was a son of Jonathan and Susannah Holt, born in Fitchburg, October 23, 1759. He married, April 17, 1781, Lucy Parmenter of Oakham. He lived in Fitchburg until 1784, removing to Oakham.

85. JAMES HOLT served on the quota of Fitchburg in the Continental army—being one of the six months' recruits of 1780—from July 13, 1780, to January 12, 1781.

He was a son of Jonathan and Susannah Holt, born in Fitchburg, May 2, 1764. He was but sixteen years of age at the time of his service.

86. JONATHAN HOLT was a sergeant in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men which marched at the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, to Cambridge; service fourteen days.

He was a son of Humphrey and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, born in Andover, 1728. He married, February 25, 1752, Rachel Taylor, who died April 25, 1753; he married, second, November 14, 1753, Susannah Holt, who died July 11, 1801; he married, third, January 3, 1802, Azubah (Butterfield) Searle of Townsend. He removed to Fitchburg previous to the incorporation of the town, and here resided until his death. He died March 17, 1805. Buried in Lunenburg South cemetery. Eleven children.

87. JONATHAN HOLT, JR., served as private in Capt. Josiah Stearns' company, Col. Ephraim Doolittle's regiment, eight months in the siege of Boston, 1775; also in Capt. Thomas Fish's company, Col. Nathan Tyler's regiment, five months and two days. Rhode Island service, in 1779. He was also one of the six months men raised by

the town of Fitchburg to reinforce the Continental army in 1780; service from July to December, being then twenty-four years of age.

He was a son of Jonathan and Susannah (Holt) Holt, born in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, May 16, 1756. He married, December 12, 1782, Molly Bailey, born in Lunenburg, February 14, 1753, daughter of Isaac and Mary (Lovejoy) Bailey. He lived in Jaffrey a few years, and later removed to Canaan, Maine.

88. WILLIAM HOLT enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg into the Continental army for three years, and served in Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment from April 25, 1777, to April 25, 1780.

He was a son of Jonathan and Susannah Holt, was born in Fitchburg, March 11, 1761. He married, April 20, 1782, Elizabeth Hutchinson, a daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Hutchinson of Lunenburg.

89. JONATHAN HUNT was a resident of this town in 1773, '74 and '75, and he served, 1775, in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston. Early in 1776 he removed to Charlestown and was in the service that year on the quota of Cambridge.

He was a son of Samuel and Hannah (Kimball) Hunt, was born in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, July 2, 1750. The family removed from this town in 1765. (See sketch of Samuel Hunt by Mr. Willis, in Volume II. of this series.) Jonathan, the son, married at Worcester, September 15, 1769, Lucy Howe; he married, second, at Boston, September 22, 1777, Margery Fox; he married, third, February 9, 1816, Anna Daniels of Heath.

90. MAXIMILLIAN JEWETT served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777. In April, 1775, he was in Littleton, and marched April 19, Lexington alarm, in the company of Capt. Aquilla Jewett.

He was a son of Jeremiah and Elizabeth (Wood) Jewett, was born in Rowley, February 23, 1743. He married, in Rowley, August 26, 1766, Rebecca Burpee, a daughter of Joseph and Joanna (Pickard) Burpee. He came to Fitchburg in 1767 and resided here, except two years, until 1780, when he removed to Canaan, Maine.

91. JOHN JOHNSON (in the rolls spelled Jonson) served as corporal in Capt. William Henry's company, month of October, 1779, at Castle and Governor's Islands; residence given Fitchburg. He was not a permanent resident here.

92. WILLIAM KENDALL served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, and in Capt. Thurlow's company of Lieut.-Col. Bridge's regiment at Saratoga, 1777. It is presumable that other service under this name should be placed to his credit. He was here, under age, in 1777, and was first taxed in 1781.

He was born 1759, married, February 26, 1786, Hannah Needham, born in Billerica, August 19, 1759, a daughter of Benjamin and Rebecca (Jaquith) Needham. He died, August 29, 1835; buried in Dean Hill cemetery. His daughter Hannah, born January 13, 1789, married, November 12, 1807, Joseph Polley.

93. AMOS KIMBALL was one of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, and a sergeant in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Saratoga, 1777. Subsequently he served on the quota of Westminster in the Continental army, from June, 1781, to September, 1783.

He was a son of Deacon Amos and Dorothy (Hazeltine) Kimball, and was born in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, (at the Hale place on South street,) September 25, 1752. He left Fitchburg before the close of the war. Dea. Amos Kimball, the father, died October 6, 1774; buried in South street cemetery.

94. EBENEZER KIMBALL served in Capt. John White's company of Col. Abijah Stearns' regiment at Boston, from April 1 to July 2, 1778.

He was the youngest son of Deacon Amos and Dorothy (Hazeltine) Kimball, born in Fitchburg (South street), June 14, 1760.

95. EPHRAIM KIMBALL served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777.

He was a son of Ephraim and Mary (Wetherbee) Kimball, born in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, February 15, 1752. He is known in Fitchburg annals as Deacon Ephraim Kimball. He married, April 14, 1774, Elizabeth White, born in Lunenburg, March 19, 1757, daughter of John and Mary (Whitney) White. He was a prominent citizen of Fitchburg. He died May 6, 1825; (gravestone May 7, town records May 6). His widow died June 26, 1844; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. Ephraim, Porter and Alpheus were his sons.

96. LEVI KIMBALL was a drummer in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, thirteen days, at Lexington alarm. He was also a drummer in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment, Saratoga service, 1777.

He was a son of Ephraim and Mary (Wetherbee) Kimball, born in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, October 23, 1756. He married, October 24, 1776, Jemima Walker.

97. THOMAS KIMBALL served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, 1775, and eight months the same year in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston; also in Capt. John Joslin's company, Col. Job Cushing's regiment, at Bennington, 1777.

He was a son of Deacon Amos and Dorothy (Hazeltine) Kimball, born in Fitchburg, September 5, 1754. He married, 1777, Lucy Russell, a daughter of Jason Russell of Harvard.

98. EDMOND LONNON (or Eden London), was a negro slave owned in 1775 by Capt. Thomas Cowdin. He enlisted, May 7, 1775, in Capt. James Burt's company for eight months' service, siege of Boston. For this service he is credited on the rolls to Fitchburg and also to Winchendon. On December 6, 1776, he enlisted for three years' service in the Continental army, on the quota of Winchendon; discharged December 7, 1779.

Edmond Lonnon as a slave had many masters. Capt. Cowdin sold him May 6, 1775, to Jonathan Stimson of Winchendon. This sale was the day before his enlistment under Capt. Burt. Later, the same year, he was sold to Thomas Sawyer of Winchendon, and in July, 1776, he was sold to David Goodridge, also of Winchendon. By his three years' service in the army in place of his new master, he secured his freedom—his master receiving therefor his bounty, and a portion of his wages. These facts were brought out in a suit in 1804, between the town of Winchendon and the town of Hatfield, concerning his support as a pauper. (Mass. Law Reports, vol. 4, page 122.)

99. ELIPHALET MACE enlisted July 10, 1780, for six months' service in the Continental army on the quota of Fitchburg.

He was a son of Eliphalet and Sarah Mace, was born in Billerica, November 9, 1762. The family came from Billerica to Fitchburg in 1765, the year after the incorporation, and the name appears in the records of the town for several years after the war.

100. DAVID MCINTIRE served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and in Capt. William Wyman's company, siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of John and Mary McIntire, born in Reading. He married Gertrude Flint, a daughter of Amos and Mary (Graves) Flint, and removed to Fitchburg in 1773. He died here October 9, 1798. His sons, David and Flint McIntire, settled in Westminster.

101. ELIJAH MCINTIRE served in Capt. William Wyman's company, Col. Patterson's regiment, siege of Boston, 1775.

He came to Fitchburg in 1775; married, January 8, 1778, Catherine Hall, a daughter of John Hall, of the German settlement of Ashburnham. She died February 3, 1836; he died September 29, 1837; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

102. MOSES MERRILL enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg, July 10, 1780, and was discharged January 12, 1781. He was one of the large number of six months' recruits of 1780, to reenforce the Continental army on the Hudson. In the descriptive list he is called sixteen years of age, five feet four inches in height and of light complexion.

He was a son of Daniel and Abigail Merrill, was born in Fitchburg 1764, and married, April 12, 1786, Milly Maynard. At this date he was living in Notown, but soon removed to Hancock, N. H. Daniel Merrill, the father, removed in 1766 from Fitchburg to Ashburnham.

103. JOHN MORRIL, reported as from Boston, was one of twelve men who in 1777 enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg (as from Capt. Jonathan Woods' Fitchburg company of militia) for three years' service in the Continental army. He joined Capt. Jones' company, Col. Jackson's regiment. He was never a resident of Fitchburg, and was doubtless a hired recruit.

104. JOHN MUDGE enlisted in Capt. Benjamin Edgell's company, Col. John Jacob's regiment, for one year's service, from the first day of June, 1778, on the quota of Fitchburg. Other service should, perhaps, be credited to him.

He was a son of John and Mary (Wait) Mudge, born in Malden, December 3, 1743. He came to Fitchburg in 1769. He was fire warden, 1770. His tax was abated in 1782, which is the last mention of his name in the records of the town.

105. WILLIAM MURPHY was a hired recruit who served on the quota of Fitchburg in 1779, probably for nine months, to reenforce the Continental army. His age was twenty-eight years. He never resided in this town.

106. JOHN NUTTING served from Westford, in Capt. Timothy Underwood's company, Lexington alarm, 1775, and in Capt. Jonathan Minot's company, 1776. In 1777 he was one of the three years' men on the quota of Fitch-

burg, enlisting June 20, 1777. He was assigned to Capt. Ballard's company, of Col. Alden's regiment of Continentals. He died in the service, December 25, 1777. The name on one of the rolls is written "Nutten."

He was a son of John and Hannah (Reed) Nutting, born in Westford, 1756.

107. EPHRAIM OSBORN was a member of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company at the Lexington alarm, 1775, and in 1778 from July to December he served at Cambridge, in Capt. Peter Woodbury's company and in Capt. David Jewett's company, in guarding the prisoners of Gen. Burgoyne's army.

He was a son of Ephraim and Elizabeth (Ireland) Osborn, born in Charlestown, September 24, 1731. He settled in the part of Lunenburg now Fitchburg, and served in two or more campaigns in the French and Indian war. He married, November 26, 1759, Sarah Fisk. He died, March 12, 1779; buried in South street cemetery.

108. EPHRAIM OSBORN, JR., at the age of sixteen, enlisted in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company, 1779, and marched to the Hudson river; regiment raised to reenforce the Continental army in New York for three months. The following year he served from July to October in Capt. Timothy Boutell's company in the Continental service.

He was a son of Ephraim and Sarah (Fisk) Osborn, was born in Fitchburg, September 5, 1763. He married, 1781, Elizabeth Wright. Twelve children were born in this town.

109. LIEUT. JONATHAN PAGE was commissioned a lieutenant of the Fitchburg company of militia of which William Thurlow was captain. In 1777 he served as lieutenant in Capt. Jonathan Gates' company which arrived at Bennington two days after the battle and proceeded to join Gen. Gates' army, participating in the battles and the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne. Later he was in command of the enlisted and drafted men raised for the Continental army.

He was a son of Joseph and Abigail (Shedd) Page, born in Groton, June 22, 1742. He came to Fitchburg in 1768, married, February 2, 1769, Esther Willard, born September 6, 1748, daughter of Lemuel and Hannah (Haskell) Willard, of Harvard. He died, May 1, 1811; his widow died, July 8, 1814; both buried at Dean Hill cemetery.

110. THOMAS PALMER, in 1778, was drafted under a call for nine months men, to march to Horse-Neck under command of Col. Converse, but for some reason failed to join his regiment, with other men drafted under the same call. He may have been the Thomas Palmer who served in Capt. Joshua White's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment, drafted September, 1776; service sixty days at Rhode Island.

Thomas Palmer, a son of Thomas and Margaret Palmer, was born in Newton, about 1744. He married, May 8, 1766, Margaret Wiswall, a daughter of Noah and Thankful (Fuller) Wiswall. By the father of his wife he was given a farm which was supposed at the time to be in Fitchburg, but which proved to be in Notown. Beginning in 1766 he was taxed in Fitchburg for ten or more years.

111. JOHN PARK served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, and was one of four men drafted the following year for nine months' service on the quota of Fitchburg, to reenforce the army on the Hudson river. He arrived at Fishkill, June 20, 1778.

He was a son of John and Jane Park, born at Harvard, April 12, 1742. He married, May 25, 1772, Rhoda Cooper, and removed to Fitchburg. He died, 1778.

112. JOSEPH PATTERSON served on the quota of Fitchburg, being one of the men engaged in 1779 for the term of nine months. He was mustered August 6, 1779.

He was a son of James and Elizabeth (Nichols) (Bartlett) Patterson, born in Shirley, December 25, 1751. He was a resident here in 1779. Subsequently he was a carpenter in Boston.

113. AMOS PERRY was one of six men raised by the town of Fitchburg for nine months, and was mustered into service January 25, 1779, to recruit the Continental army. He never resided in Fitchburg.

114. LIEUT. ASA PERRY in the Revolution was a lieutenant of the militia, and at the Lexington alarm he was a lieutenant of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company. He was at Cambridge six days.

He was born in 1746, married, in Holliston, April 19, 1770, Lydia Leland, born in Holliston, March 28, 1750, a daughter of John and Lydia (Leland) Leland. He lived in Holliston until 1772, when he removed to Fitchburg, where he was a useful citizen. His home was at

the corner of Water street and Wanoosnoc road, now the location of the city almshouse. One child was born in Holliston and four in Fitchburg. He died February 24, 1826, aged eighty years; buried in South street cemetery.

115. SETH PHILLIPS, while a resident of Pembroke, now Hanson, served as sergeant in Capt. James Hatch's company, Lexington alarm, 1775; in Capt. Eleazer Hamlin's company, siege of Boston, 1775. In 1776, May 10, he was commissioned a lieutenant of the Pembroke company of militia, resigning his commission when he removed to Fitchburg in 1777. In this town he was one of the six months recruits for the Continental service from July 12 to December 10, 1780.

He was a son of Blaney and Christian (Wadsworth) Phillips, was born in Hanson, 1752. He married Betty Hamlin, an aunt of Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, and removed to Fitchburg in 1777, where he died, 1828; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

116. DAVID PEIRCE was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men at Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service thirteen days; also probably in service at Rhode Island in 1777 and 1778.

He was a son of David and Elizabeth (Bowers) Peirce, born in Groton, July 19, 1726. He married, April 20, 1746, Anne Ritter, and lived in Lunenburg until 1770, when he removed to Fitchburg.

117. JOSHUA PEIRCE served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, 1775; service thirteen days.

He was a son of David and Elizabeth (Bowers) Peirce, born in Lunenburg January 13, 1746. He married, November 13, 1769, Molly Foss, and settled in Fitchburg. He died in Fitchburg, October 22, 1828; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. His home was on Summer street, location now occupied by Henry T. Page.

118. SAMUEL PEIRCE served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company at Lexington alarm, 1775; service eight days, and probably served one or more enlistments later.

He was a son of David and Elizabeth (Bowers) Peirce, born in Lunenburg, March 25, 1737. He married, March 19, 1761, Mary Stewart, a daughter of Solomon and Martha (Farrington) Stewart, and settled in this town previous to the date of incorporation.

119. AMOS PIERCE served in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company at Rhode Island from May 5 to July 12, 1777;

also in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company, November 1 to December 3, 1779, at Clavernack, to reenforce the Continental army.

He married, 1780, Sarah Marshall, who died in Fitchburg, April 8, 1804. He died July 22, 1826.

120. THOMAS PLATTS was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, April 19, 1775; term of service six days. April 25, same year, he enlisted in Capt. John Fuller's company, for eight months' service in the siege of Boston. In 1777 he was one of the three years' men, enlisted to serve in the Continental army. He was assigned to Capt. Morse's company, Col. Putnam's regiment.

He was a son of Nathan and Elizabeth Platts, born in Lunenburg, November 24, 1754. He died in Fitzwilliam, July 26, 1782.

121. JOSEPH POLLEY served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Ebenezer and Dorcas (Houghton) Polley, was born in Lancaster, now Leominster, September 3, 1728. He married Dorcas —, removed from Leominster to Fitchburg, 1769, living in the south part of the town. He died in 1776; Dorcas, his widow, died August 7, 1812. His sons were Ebenezer, Joseph, John and Peter.

122. EBENEZER POLLEY served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. John Fuller's company, siege of Boston, 1775. In 1778 he was a corporal in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Rhode Island from July 30 to September 13, and the following year he served in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company on the Hudson.

He was a son of Joseph and Dorcas (—) Polley (No. 121 above), was born in Leominster, October 28, 1749. He married Mary —, lived in Fitchburg, and died here February 15, 1815.

123. JOHN POLLEY served in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company at Rhode Island from May 5 to July 12, 1777; in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company "to the northward" from September 7 to November 29, 1777; in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Rhode Island from July 30

to September 13, 1778, and in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company on the Hudson from November 1 to November 23, 1779.

He was a son of Joseph and Dorcas (—) Polley (No. 121 above), was born in Leominster, December 30, 1760. He married, October 28, 1782, Abigail Kimball, a daughter of Ephraim and Mary (Wetherbee) Kimball of Fitchburg.

124. JOSEPH POLLEY, JR., served as fifer in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, 1775; in William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, and at Saratoga in 1777; in Capt. Thurlow's company at Rhode Island, July 30 to September 13, 1778.

He was a son of Joseph and Dorcas Polley (No. 121 above), was born in Leominster, December 25, 1756; married, November 14, 1780, Eunice Melvin, a daughter of John and Hannah Melvin of Concord. He lived in the northwest part of the town. He died, May 11, 1834; buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

125. SILAS PRATT was one of the recruits under the call for nine months' men in 1779. He enlisted in the Continental service and served in Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment from August, 1779, to May, 1780. In January, 1781, he petitioned the General Court that he might be allowed his wages for ten months and eleven days, during which time he was a prisoner in New York in the year 1780, and for the loss of a blanket.

He came to Fitchburg in 1778, probably from Weymouth or vicinity, being at that time eighteen years of age. He did not remain here after the war.

126. JOHN PRIEST was one of twelve men raised by the town of Fitchburg in 1777 to serve for three years in the Continental army, and returned by Capt. Jonathan Wood as enlisted from his company. He was assigned to Capt. King's company, Col. Marshall's regiment, on the Hudson. In the retreat, July, 1777, from Skeensborough (Whitehall) to Fort Ann, he was disabled, and in February of the following year was discharged from the service.

He was a son of Benjamin and Hannah (Johnson) Priest, was born in Lancaster, October 1, 1761, and came to Fitchburg in 1776. In 1785 he married Rebecca Gibson, a daughter of Abraham and Esther (Fox) Gibson of Fitchburg, and removed to Rindge, N. H. In 1811 he removed from Rindge to Lunenburg. His wife, Rebecca, died in Lunen-

burg, June 30, 1814, and he married, second, Mrs. Phebe (Atherton) Sherman. He died in Lunenburg, April 12, 1830; buried in Lunenburg South yard. He had twelve children by first wife.

127. DEA. DANIEL PUTNAM served as ensign in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service thirteen days; also private in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, under command of Major Ebenezer Bridge, by order of Gen. Stark and Col. Warner; dismissed after proceeding ninety miles, by Gen. Lincoln.

He was a son of John and Ruth (Swinerton) Putnam, was born in Salem Village, now Danvers, April 19, 1748. He married, at Salem, December 14, 1769, Rachel Small, born April 5, 1743, a daughter of William Small. He removed to Fitchburg in 1769 and settled on the farm now occupied by his great grandson, J. Edward Putnam. He died, April 26, 1813; his wife died, January 26, 1819. Both buried at Laurel Hill cemetery.

128. JOHN PUTNAM was a private in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, August 22, 1777, under Major Ebenezer Bridge; dismissed by Gen. Lincoln after proceeding ninety miles; lieutenant in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company, Col. Job Cushing's regiment, from September 5 to November 29, 1777, in Continental service.

Lieut. John Putnam, son of John and Ruth (Swinerton) Putnam, was born in Salem Village, now Danvers, December 10, 1743. He married, at Danvers, October 31, 1765, Abigail Small. He came to Fitchburg with his brother Daniel in 1769. He was a contractor and builder, and built the second meeting-house in Fitchburg, the building now standing at the corner of Main and Circle streets, known as Crocker's hall. He was living here after 1800, but no record of his death is found.

129. ABIJAH REED of Westford enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg in 1777, for three years' service in the Continental army. He was enlisted as from Capt. Jonathan Wood's Fitchburg militia company; served in Capt. Ballard's company, Col. Alden's regiment. His service being claimed by both Fitchburg and Ashby, was allowed to Ashby, but in 1779 he was credited to the town of Fitchburg.

He was a son of Peter and Elizabeth (Hartwell) Reed, born in Littleton, 1754. He lived many years in Westford, and died there in 1844. He never lived in Fitchburg.

130. ASA RUSSELL came to Fitchburg in 1779, and the same year served on the quota of Fitchburg at Castle and Governor's Islands from October 3 to October 29, in the company under Capt. William Henry.

131. ISAAC RUSSELL was one of four men drafted into the service on the quota of Fitchburg, under the call in 1778 for nine months' men, to reenforce the Continental army. He joined the army at Fishkill, July 11, 1778.

He came to Fitchburg in 1777, and married here, April 22 of that year, Betty Stewart, a daughter of Solomon and Elizabeth (Taylor) Stewart. About 1780 he removed to Canaan, Maine.

132. NATHANIEL RUSSELL came to Fitchburg in 1779 and enlisted June 16, 1781, into the Continental army on the quota of Fitchburg for three years, being one of the nine men raised by the payment of bounties to fill the quota to the required number. His age was given as twenty-one years. He received a bounty of one hundred and two pounds and mileage in advance.

133. BENJAMIN SANDERS of Billerica enlisted in 1777 for three years' service in the Continental army, on the quota of Fitchburg; service from September 12, 1777, to September 12, 1780.

He was a son of David and Abigail (Snow) Sanders, born in Billerica, September 18, 1755. After the war he lived in Billerica.

134. MOSES SANDERS (or Sanderson) was a private in the company of Capt. William Warner, Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, on duty at Hull, from June 18 to December, 1776. He enlisted in 1777 for eight months' service in the Continental army. He joined Capt. Gates' company, in Col. Putnam's regiment.

He was a son of Moses and Mary (Flagg) Sanderson, was born in Waltham, 1756, (baptized July 18). In 1766 the family removed from Waltham to Littleton, which place he made his home after the war. He was taxed for a single year only in Fitchburg.

135. ABNER SAWYER served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777. In 1778 he was drafted, under a call for nine months men, but was excused from service.

He came to Fitchburg in 1774, married, March 27, 1777, Elizabeth Perkins, and in 1779 he removed to Rindge, N. H., where he died in 1809. His widow married Phineas Brown, and again lived in Fitchburg, where she died May 1, 1820.

136. PHINEAS SAWYER, JR., served in 1776 in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company of Col. Dike's regiment, at Dorchester, from September 1 to December 1.

He was a son of Phineas and Mary (Sawyer) Sawyer, born in Lancaster, April 28, 1742. He married, January 4, 1774, Mary Prescott, a daughter of John and Mary (White) Prescott, and immediately removed to this town. He was an innholder. He died March 9, 1794; his widow died October 15, 1795. Phineas Sawyer, the father, a veteran of the French and Indian war, died in Fitchburg, April 20, 1787. His wife died December 2, 1794.

137. JOHN SCHOFFE (or Shaff) was one of the twelve men raised by the town in 1777 to serve for three years in the Continental army. He joined Capt. Sylvanus Smith's company of Col. Timothy Bigelow's regiment. The regiment was engaged in the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, "endured the sufferings of Valley Forge, fought on the plains of Monmouth, and participated in the closing victory at Yorktown."

He was a son of Jacob Schoffe, was born in Ashburnham, August 15, 1761. The father was one of the German immigrants who settled on the Dutch Farms in Ashburnham. The family removed to Haverhill, N. H., and later to Essex county, Vt.

138. JOSEPH SIMONDS served in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and on the 25th of the same month enlisted in Capt. James Burt's company for eight months' service in the siege of Boston.

Joseph Simonds, born about 1746, was baptized in Topsfield, October 29, 1749. He was a son of John and Ruth (Dorman) Simonds, and grandson of John and Hannah (Hazen) Simonds of Topsfield and Boxford. In his youth his parents moved to Lunenburg. He married, October 16, 1767, Mary Martin, born October 26, 1748, a daughter of John and Elizabeth Martin of Lunenburg, and removed the same year to Fitchburg. He died in Fitchburg, October 10, 1820; his wife died 1819. His grandson, Abel Simonds, was the founder of the extensive manufacturing industry now conducted by the Simonds Manufacturing Company.

139. WILLIAM SMALL was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm,

1775, and in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777.

He came to Fitchburg in 1769, married, May 16, 1772, Miriam Thurston. He married second, February 27, 1777, Mary (Damon) Bigelow, widow of Solomon Bigelow of Shrewsbury. He was a resident here as late as 1796, when he was one of a committee to inspect the "stuff for the new meeting-house."

140. **SILAS SNOW** was commissioned second lieutenant of Capt. Jonathan Wood's company of militia, March 23, 1776. After that date he is styled in the town records Lieut. Silas Snow.

He was a son of William and Elizabeth (Stevens) Snow, and was born in Lunenburg, November 29, 1733. He married, November 20, 1760, Anna Farwell, a daughter of Daniel and Mary Farwell of Groton. He was living in Fitchburg at the date of incorporation, and after the war removed to Lunenburg, where he died September 6, 1806; buried in Lunenburg North cemetery.

141. **JOSEPH SPOFFORD** was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service six days.

He was a son of Jonathan and Jemima (Freeth) Spofford, born in Rowley, July 13, 1720. At the beginning of the Revolution he had lived in Fitchburg over twenty years. Near the close of the war he removed to Weathersfield, Vt., where he died March 13, 1803.

142. **JABEZ STEVENS** served in Capt. Josiah Stearns' company eight months in siege of Boston, 1775. In 1777 he enlisted on the quota of Fitchburg into the Continental army, serving three years.

He was first taxed in Fitchburg in 1780 and was living here in 1793, when his tax, "the sum of two pounds, six shillings, ten pence and three farthings, after consolidated in silver, was abated." He married, July 1, 1784, Esther Bemis, born in Waltham, December 20, 1762, a daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Warren) Bemis. At some time subsequently he removed to Charlestown.

143. **OLIVER STICKNEY** served in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment, in September and October, 1777, "at the northward," one hundred and sixty miles' travel home.

He was a son of Stephen and Mehitabel (Goodridge) Stickney, born in Newbury, February 22, 1739. He was a grandson of Philip Goodridge of Lunenburg. He removed to Fitchburg in 1766. He married,

May 26, 1767, Hannah Stiles, a daughter of Jacob Stiles of Lunenburg. She died in this town March 21, 1779. He married second, January 19, 1790, Sarah Frost. He died in Fitchburg, April 24, 1811; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

144. SAMUEL SUMNER, JR., was one of twelve men returned by Capt. Jonathan Wood in 1777, as enlisted (from his Fitchburg militia company) for three years' service in the Continental army.

He is on record as from Boston, and as having previously served for shorter periods elsewhere, and as having received State bounty. He appears to have been equally proficient in handling gun, fife or drum, and served with each in different enlistments as occasion required. He never lived in Fitchburg.

145. GEORGE TAYLOR served in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company, Col. Rand's regiment, nine months, from January 25, 1779.

He was born in 1753, came to Fitchburg in 1777 and married, the same year, Abigail Seaver of Westminster. He did not become a permanent resident here.

146. CAPT. WILLIAM THURLOW, at the outbreak of the Revolution, was a lieutenant of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, and served with his company at the Lexington alarm, remaining in service fifteen days. At the reorganization of the army he was commissioned ensign of Capt. Josiah Stearns' company, and served in the siege of Boston eight months in 1775. Early in 1776 he was commissioned captain of one of the Fitchburg companies of militia, and held the commission until 1779 or later. He led his company to Charlemon't at the Bennington alarm, 1777, and at once reorganized his company and marched to Bennington, arriving two days after the battle. He proceeded to Saratoga and was there engaged in the battles preceding and at the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne. In 1778, Capt. Thurlow, in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, was in service in Rhode Island from July 30 to September 13.

Capt. William Thurlow was a son of George and Elizabeth (Hale) Thurlow, and was born in Newbury in 1744. He married, in 1768, Mercy Gibson, who was born in Stow, August 4, 1748, a daughter of Dea. Stephen and Sarah (Goss) Gibson, and a sister of Rev. Stephen Gibson of Ashby. He was first taxed in this town for the year 1766. His home was on what has long been known as the Hale place on

South street. The old house in which he lived is still standing. Capt. Thurlow died in Fitchburg, December 8, 1784; buried in South street cemetery. His widow married, second, March 20, 1787, John Shepley. They were the parents of Hon. John Shepley, an eminent lawyer of Saco, Me.; of Hon. Ether Shepley, LL. D., chief justice of the Supreme Court, and United States senator of Maine, and of Stephen Shepley, father of the late Stephen Shepley of Fitchburg.

147. DEA. JOHN THURSTON served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. James Burt's company, siege of Boston, 1775. He was a drummer in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, and a corporal in Capt. Thurlow's company, Saratoga, 1777. In 1778 he served in Capt. Ephraim Stearns' company on Hudson river, and in 1779 he was a corporal in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company, raised to reinforce the Continental army in New York.

He was a son of Dea. John and Hepsibah (Burpee) Thurston, born in Rowley, 1757. He lived in Fitchburg after 1766. He married, August 2, 1782, Esther Wood, a daughter of Jonathan and Esther (Wood) Wood. She died July 22, 1801; he died April 28, 1814; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

148. STEPHEN THURSTON was one of eleven six months recruits raised by the town in 1780 to serve in the Continental army. He marched July 10 and was discharged December 7. His age was sixteen years.

He was a son of Dea. John and Hepsibah (Burpee) Thurston, born in Rowley, 1764. He came to Fitchburg with his parents in 1766. He married, November 12, 1787, Mary Osgood of Lancaster, who died June 17, 1811. He died May 15, 1805; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

149. THOMAS THURSTON served in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Saratoga, under Maj. Ebenezer Bridge, in 1777, at the capture of Burgoyne's army.

He was a son of Dea. John and Hepsibah (Burpee) Thurston, born in Rowley, February 2, 1755. The family removed to Fitchburg when he was eleven years of age. He married, August 16, 1780, Lydia Davis of Concord. She died January 19, 1806. He married second, January 1, 1807, Mehitable Upton, a daughter of William and Hannah (Stanley) Upton. Many of his descendants have been useful and honored citizens. He died October 30, 1825; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

150. OLIVER UPTON was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; time of service, eight days.

He was a son of Caleb Upton, born in 1748. In 1765 his father removed to Fitchburg and died here in 1768. Oliver married, November 20, 1777, Susannah Stiles, born October 4, 1758, a daughter of Levi Stiles of Lunenburg. In 1785 Oliver Upton removed to Gardner, where he died July 1, 1721.

151. ROBERT UPTON served on the quota of the town in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company, Rhode Island service, from May 5 to July 12, 1777; in Capt. John Joslin's company at Bennington alarm, 1777; in Capt. Thomas Cowdin's company, November 1 to November 23, 1779; also sergeant in Capt. Timothy Boutell's company, July 20 to October 10, 1780.

He was a brother of Oliver (No. 150 above), was born in Amherst, N. H., May 12, 1758. He lived in Fitchburg from 1765 to 1781; married in North Reading, 1784, Anna Wheelock, born 1759, in Shrewsbury. In 1784 he removed to Salem and in 1792 to Cavendish, Vt., and in 1812 to Millbridge, Me., where he died in 1824. His widow, Anna, died in Salem, February 10, 1835. She was a near relative of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, the founder of Dartmouth college.

152. JAMES WALKER served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. William Wyman's company of Col. Patterson's regiment, in siege of Boston, 1775. In 1778 he served in Capt. William Thurlow's company at Rhode Island.

He came to Fitchburg in 1774 and was a resident here eight years. No further record of him is found.

153. JOHN WESSON (or Wasson) was a private in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service six days. He enlisted as fifer in Capt. John Fuller's company, eight months' service, in siege of Boston. Subsequently he was on the quota of Shirley, Rhode Island service; on quota of Amherst, Continental service, eight months; also on quota of Northborough, Continental service, as musician, 1777 to 1780.

He was a native of Concord, and was only a transient resident of Fitchburg.

154. JOHN WEST was one of eleven men who enlisted in 1780 on the quota of Fitchburg for six months' service in the Continental army. He served from July 10, 1780,

to January 10, 1781, and was allowed for two hundred miles travel home. He reenlisted March 14, 1781, for three years in the Continental service, being one of the nine men paid a bounty by the town as an inducement to enlist. His age was given thirty-three years, birthplace "Great Britain." June 5, 1782, he was tried by regimental court martial on a charge of absence without leave and selling his knapsack, found guilty and sentenced to receive fifty lashes. He was never a resident here.

155. JONATHAN WETHERBEE served in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; term of service four days.

He came to Fitchburg in 1774 and resided here until 1776, after which his name disappears from the records of the town.

156. PAUL WETHERBEE was a corporal in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; service thirteen days.

He was a son of Paul and Hannah (Peirce) Wetherbee, was born in Lunenburg, August 12, 1749. He came to Fitchburg in 1774, and the same year married Dorcas Hovey, born in Lunenburg, June 24, 1751, daughter of Abijah and Lydia (Graves) Hovey. Nine children were born in this town. He died April 24, 1834; his wife died November 14, 1829; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

157. TITUS WILDER served on the quota of Fitchburg, 1776, in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, which was at Bound Brook, New Jersey. The following year he served in Col. Job Cushing's regiment, and was present at the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne's army. Before he removed to this town he had served in Capt. Benjamin Houghton's company of minute-men of Lancaster at the Lexington alarm, and eight months in the siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Jotham and Phebe (Wilder) Wilder, born at Lancaster, December 4, 1749. He married, April 21, 1773, Mary Allen; removed to Fitchburg in 1776, and lived here four years. He returned in 1780 to Lancaster, and died in the almshouse there April 10, 1837.

158. ABRAHAM WILLARD served on the quota of Fitchburg six months in the Continental army, from July 18, 1780, to January 20, 1781. He was allowed two hundred miles for travel home.

He was a son of Abraham and Mary (Haskell) Willard, was born in Harvard, December 12, 1748. He came to Fitchburg in 1771, and settled in the west part of the town. He died April 20, 1817; his wife, Hannah, died June 12, 1816; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery. They had three sons, Isaac, Levi and Amory.

159. REUBEN WILLARD was a private in the company of eight months' men under Capt. Josiah Stearns, Col. Ephraim Doolittle, in the siege of Boston, 1775.

He was a son of Thomas and Sarah (Gibson) Willard, born in Harvard, November 14, 1755; married, January 3, 1775, Catherine Parkhurst. He came to Fitchburg at the opening of the Revolution, but did not become a permanent resident.

160. JAMES WILLIAMS was one of the eleven who enlisted in 1780 for six months' service in the Continental army on the quota of Fitchburg. He served under Capt. Thomas Prichard, from July 10 to December 12; allowed for two hundred miles travel home. He reenlisted April 3, 1781, for three years in the Continental service, being then 21 years of age. He was one of the nine men raised by the town in 1781 by the payment of a bounty; in his case ninety-three pounds "hard money" and advance mileage.

He lived but a year or two in Fitchburg. He married Submit Page and their daughter Lydia was born here February 23, 1781, after which date his name disappears from the records of the town.

161. CAPT. JONATHAN WOOD was captain of the first Fitchburg company of Col. Abijah Stearns' Eighth Worcester County regiment of militia; commissioned March 23, 1776. He was in the service the same year on the Hudson river, near Dobbs' Ferry, as captain of a company in Col. James Converse's regiment.

Capt. Jonathan Wood, son of David and Elizabeth Wood, was born in Bradford, September 24, 1730. He married, October 10, 1754, Rachel Wood of Uxbridge, and settled in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg. His home was on Intervale road, and the old house is still standing. He died December 15, 1804; his widow, Rachel, died March 27, 1808; both buried in South street cemetery. He was a prominent and useful citizen. His epitaph reads, "He lived a firm pillar in the cause of Liberty." [See sketch by Mr. Willis in Volume II, page 66 of this series.] He was a descendant of Thomas Wood, an early settler of Rowley. A considerable part of this family removed to Mendon and vicinity.

162. GEORGE WOOD was one of the nine months men, raised by the town in 1779, for service in Rhode Island from January 25. In December, the same year, he was serving for one month in Capt. Thomas Fish's company, Col. Nathan Tyler's regiment, in Rhode Island.

He was a son of Capt. Jonathan and Rachel (Wood) Wood, born June 3, 1762. He married, 1781, Sarah Hartwell of Acton. They had thirteen children, one born in Acton, two in Rockingham, Vt., and the others in Fitchburg. He died in Fitchburg in September, 1820.

163. JAMES WOOD was a member of Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute-men, April 19, 1775, Lexington alarm; term of service fifteen days. In 1778 he enlisted for one year's service in Capt. Benjamin Edgell's company, Col. John Jacob's regiment, at Rhode Island.

He was a son of Capt. Jonathan and Rachel (Wood) Wood, born March 24, 1756; married, 1780, Sarah Walker, born November 12, 1758, daughter of Obadiah and Abigail Walker of Lunenburg. They removed to Westminster, Vt., where they were a leading and influential family.

164. JONATHAN WOOD, JR., served as fifer in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company, Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, from May 5 to July 12, 1777, at Rhode Island. The company was drafted from Col. Whitney's and Col. Stearns' regiments to serve under Gen. Spencer. He also served in Capt. Thurlow's company twenty-five days, under Major Bridge, at Saratoga, the same year.

He was a son of Capt. Jonathan and Rachel (Wood) Wood, born in Fitchburg, March 25, 1760. He left Fitchburg in 1785, and settled in Westmoreland, N. H., where he died August 20, 1814. He was a captain in the New Hampshire militia, as his father was in the Massachusetts militia. He had a family of seven children.

165. SALMON WOOD served in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company, Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, at Rhode Island, sixty-seven days in 1777. He was also in Capt. William Thurlow's company, service at Saratoga, twenty-five days, capture of Burgoyne's army, 1777.

Salmon Wood appears on the rolls as Solomon Wood. He was a son of John and Lydia (Davis) Wood, born in Littleton, August 15, 1758. His father, John Wood, died April 8, 1758, and his widow, Lydia, became the second wife of Dea. David Goodridge of Fitchburg. Salmon

Wood was reared in the home of Dea. Goodridge. He married, 1780, Sybil Whittemore of New Ipswich, and settled in Rindge, N. H. In 1780 he removed from Rindge to Hancock, N. H., where he died February 25, 1823. Seven children.

166. EBENEZER WOODS, in October, 1774, was chosen captain of one of the companies of militia in Fitchburg, and was in command of his company, April 19, 1775, and marched to Cambridge. In the siege of Boston and at the battle of Bunker Hill he was serving as lieutenant in Capt. Burt's company of Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. He was in the service again the following year.

Capt. Ebenezer Woods was a son of Nathaniel and Alice Woods, was born at Groton, December 19, 1728. He married, June 25, 1752, Eunice Boyden, born May 22, 1733, a daughter of Josiah and Eunice (Parker) Boyden. At the incorporation of Pepperell his homestead fell within the new town, and he there resided until 1770, when he removed, with six or more children, to this town. He was a selectman in 1773, 1774 and 1775. He was one of the committee who drafted the memorable declaration of constitutional rights and privileges. (See Town Records, volume I., page 92; Proceedings Fitchburg Historical Society, volume II., page 73). In the spring of 1777 he removed with his family to Windsor, Vt., and before the close of the year he was commissioned a captain. He was at the battle of Bennington and soon after was commissioned a colonel of the Third Vermont regiment. He was a cousin of Gen. Henry Woods of Pepperell, who was distinguished in war and in peace.

167. JOHN WOODS enlisted May 1, 1775, in Capt. James Burt's company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, for eight months' service in the siege of Boston. He was in the same company with his father and brother, and the three were engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill.

He was a son of Col. Ebenezer Woods, born in Pepperell, October 28, 1761. He married, October 10, 1781, Abigail Ela, who was living in 1840. He died October 21, 1810. They had thirteen children. He removed from Fitchburg to Vermont and there served several enlistments.

168. JOSEPH WOODS enlisted May 1, 1775, as private in Capt. James Burt's company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, for eight months' service, in the siege of Boston.

He was a son of Col. Ebenezer Woods (No. 166 of this list), born in Pepperell, November 2, 1758. He removed in 1777 to Windsor, Vt.

From the above list it appears that no less than one hundred and sixty-eight men served on the quota of Fitchburg for longer or shorter periods in the war of the Revolution, and this from a population of, probably, not more than eight hundred at any time during the war.

The following list gives the names and record of such Revolutionary soldiers as, during or subsequent to the war,

MADE FITCHBURG THEIR HOME, HAVING SERVED
FROM OTHER TOWNS.

1. PHINEAS ALLEN, while a resident of Lincoln, Mass., served in Capt. Farrar's company in 1777, guarding the prisoners of Burgoyne's army at Cambridge.

He removed to Fitchburg about 1782. He was a son of Benjamin and Eunice (Gale) Allen, was born in Lincoln, April 6, 1745. He married in Lincoln, March 6, 1769, Abigail Foster, who died May 18, 1770. He married second in Lincoln, September 14, 1775, Sarah Danforth; he married third at Fitchburg, November 30, 1784, Dorothy Flagg of Leominster. He removed about 1826 to the home of his son Abijah, in Smyrna, N. Y., where he died, May 15, 1830. Three children were born in Lincoln and eight in Fitchburg.

2. TIMOTHY BATCHELDER served in Lieut. Peter Shaw's company of Beverly, Lexington alarm; and in Lieut. Billy Porter's, and later in Capt. Ebenezer Francis' company in siege of Boston, 1775,—service credited to Beverly.

He was a son of Jonathan and Hepsibah (Conant) Batchelder, was born in Beverly, April 14, 1753; married in Beverly, 1774, Esther Conant, a daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (Dodge) Conant, and removed in 1778 to Lunenburg. In 1780 he came to Fitchburg. One child was born in Beverly, two in Lunenburg and seven in Fitchburg. He was residing here in 1807. No record of his death is found in Fitchburg, but one account says he died in Chesterfield, N. H., 1809.

3. ABRAHAM BENNETT served in Capt. John Jones' company of Ashby, Lexington alarm, 1775, and in 1776 he served in Col. Brooks' regiment at White Plains, New York.

While a resident of Concord he married, February 28, 1765, Sarah Goodnow of Acton, settled in Ashby, and there resided twenty-five years. In 1790 he removed to Fitchburg, and here died July 25, 1835; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. His wife died May 11, 1814.

4. DAVID BOUTELL, while a resident of Leominster, served in Capt. John Joslin's company, Lexington alarm; in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company, siege of Boston, 1775; in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company, Bennington alarm, 1777, and in Lieut. Samuel Stickney's company at Saratoga, 1777.

He was a son of James Jr. and Elizabeth (Smith) Boutell, born in Leominster, December 12, 1756. He married May 6, 1779, Damaris Richardson, a daughter of Luke and Damaris (Carter) Richardson. He removed from Leominster to Fitchburg in 1798, and here died August 5, 1816; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. Dea. David Boutelle of the Rollstone church, and Dr. Thomas R. Boutelle, a former well known physician of Fitchburg, were his sons.

5. PEARSON BROWN, while a resident of Lynn, served in Capt. Miles Greenwood's company at Cambridge, guarding prisoners of Burgoyne's army, from November 11, 1777, to April 3, 1778. (The name is written Parson Brown on the rolls.)

He was a son of Jacob and Eunice (Eaton) Brown, and was born in Lynn, 1759. He married at Lynnfield, June 7, 1789, Elizabeth McIntire. He removed to Fitchburg, 1800, and here died, May 29, 1841. His wife, Elizabeth, died February 4, 1842; both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. The father, Jacob Brown, died in Fitchburg, April 26, 1812. It is probable that he, too, was a soldier, but there were so many of the same name in the army that a definite statement cannot be made.

6. CAPT. SAMUEL BURBANK, at the beginning of the Revolution, was a resident of Holliston and a lieutenant of a Holliston company of minute-men. He served in Capt. Leland's company at Lexington alarm, and eight months in the siege of Boston, 1775. He was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill. In July, 1777, he was commissioned a captain, and he commanded a company of Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment in the expedition of 1778 to Rhode Island, under Gen. Sullivan of New Hampshire.

Capt. Burbank was a son of Samuel and Mary (Reed) Burbank of Sudbury and Holliston, and was born in Sudbury, June 24, 1734. He married first,—(record of which has not been found); he married sec-

ond, 1773, Eunice Kendall, a daughter of Benjamin and Kezia (Leland) Kendall of Sherborn, and granddaughter of Thomas Kendall of Lexington. In 1779 he removed from Holliston to Fitchburg, and here lived twenty-five years, and here eight of his twelve children were born. In 1805 he removed to Cavendish, Vt., where he died February 26, 1808. His widow was a pensioner, and died in 1845, aged ninety-five years. Their son Sullivan, born in Holliston, October 8, 1776, and named in honor of Gen. Sullivan, lived in Fitchburg from 1779 to 1800, when he removed to Lexington. He served with distinction in the war of 1812, and was brevetted major. In 1815 he was commissioned captain in the United States army, and in 1839 resigned as colonel. Subsequently he was a prominent citizen of Lexington, where he died September 30, 1862. Their son, Daniel, born in Fitchburg, August 31, 1785, was accidentally killed, June 12, 1804, by the thrust of a bayonet during a sham fight at a military muster in Westminster.

7. EDWARD BURNAP enlisted at Reading, March 28, 1781, for three years' service in the Continental army. In descriptive list his age was seventeen years, stature five feet ten inches, complexion dark, and occupation farmer.

He was born in Reading, 1763, came to Fitchburg in 1791, and died here August 1, 1827; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. His wife, Mary, died May 1, 1855. Eight children were born in Fitchburg.

8. SOLOMON CARLTON, while a resident of Billerica, served in Capt. Edward Turner's company, raised to reinforce Gen. Gates' army, at Saratoga, 1777.

He was a son of John and Hannah (Platts) Carleton, was born in Billerica, June 22, 1742. He married, 1769, Elizabeth Manning, and removed to Fitchburg in 1783. Five children were born in Billerica and one in Fitchburg. He died September 12, 1823. His widow, Elizabeth, died September 5, 1825; buried at Dean Hill cemetery.

9. SAMUEL CASWELL served from Marblehead in the siege of Boston, 1775, in Capt. William Bacon's company of Col. John Glover's regiment, and in Capt. Hooker's company at the seacoast in 1776. At Shutesbury he enlisted into the Continental army in July, 1780, being one of the three months recruits raised that year to reenforce the army on the Hudson.

Samuel Caswell was the son of John and Elizabeth (Savage) Caswell, was born in Marblehead, (baptized September 27, 1747). He married at Marblehead, December 17, 1771, Sarah Hutchinson. He removed to Shutesbury about 1778. Wendell, severed from Shutesbury, including his homestead, was incorporated in 1781. He removed from Wendell to

Fitchburg in 1795, purchasing the farm of Stephen Pingrey on Dean Hill. He died in Fitchburg, April 6, 1819; his widow died October 15, 1825.

10. ELISHA CHAMBERLAIN, at sixteen years of age, served in a Wrentham company, under command of Capt. Samuel Cowell, in the expedition of 1778 to Rhode Island.

He was a son of Moses and Sarah (Partridge) Chamberlain, was born in Walpole, Mass., September 2, 1762; married in Newton, May 6, 1784, Snsannah Brown, a daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Jame-son) Brown. He came to Fitchburg in 1786 and resided here fifteen years, on what was later known as the Goodhue place on the old Leominster road. Subsequently he lived in Swanzey and Keene, N. H., where he died June 11, 1840.

11. SAMUEL DERBY, while a resident of Concord, served in Capt. Jesse Wyman's company at Rhode Island from May 7 to May 30, 1777; and in Capt. John Buttrick's company of Col. Reed's regiment at Saratoga, 1777; and in Capt. Samuel Heald's company at Rhode Island from September 5 to November 5, 1779.

Samuel Derby was a son of Amos and Helen (Hosmer) Derby, born in Concord, January 30, 1759. He removed to Fitchburg in 1781; married, December 8, 1782, Hepsibah Wheeler, a daughter of Benjamin and Lucy Wheeler of Concord. A few years later he removed to Greenfield, and died in Waltham.

Aaron Derby, brother of Samuel (No. 11 above), born in Concord, November 20, 1761, came to Fitchburg, 1781; married here, January 8, 1789, Mary Phillips, and here their seven children were born. He died February 26, 1848; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. He is said to have been a Revolutionary soldier, but no definite statement of service can be given as his name does not appear on the rolls at the State House.

12. JOHN DOLE of Lunenburg served in Capt. George Kimball's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. Fortunatus Eager's company, December 17, 1776, to March 27, 1777, to reenforce the army in New Jersey.

John Dole was born 1747; married, August 23, 1776, Eunice Saunderson, born 1747, daughter of Abraham and Patience (Smith) Saunderson of Lunenburg. Late in life he lived with his son, Stephen, in Fitchburg, and here died June 28, 1824. His widow died March 1, 1826; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

13. ZACCHEUS FARWELL, while a resident of Groton, served in Capt. John Sawtell's company, Lexington alarm, and in Capt. Henry Farwell's company, eight months in

siege of Boston, 1775. In 1778 he served from April 1 to July 1, in Capt. Isaac Woods' company at Cambridge, guarding prisoners; and in Gen. Lovell's brigade at Rhode Island from July 30 to September 12, 1778.

Zaccheus Farwell, son of Daniel and Mary Farwell, was born in Groton, June 27, 1753; married, January 18, 1780, Lydia Gilson, a daughter of Eleazer Gilson of Pepperell, and the same year removed to Fitchburg, where he died July 28, 1811; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

14. AMOS FISKE of Waltham served in Capt. Abraham Peirce's (Waltham) company, Lexington alarm, and in siege of Boston, 1775; also in Capt. Peirce's company of Guards at Cambridge in 1778.

Amos Fiske was a son of Abijah and Elizabeth (Upham) Fiske, born in Waltham, April 25, 1754. He married, May 29, 1777, Mary Whitney, a daughter of William and Mary (Peirce) Whitney; came to Fitchburg in 1779, and lived here twenty years or more. One child was born in Waltham and several in Fitchburg, of whom there is no record.

15. BENJAMIN FLINT of Reading served repeated enlistments during the war; but the Benjamin Flints of Reading were so numerous—including Benjamin, Jr., and up to 3d and 4th of the name—all having service credited to them, that a definite statement of service of any particular one cannot be given.

Benjamin Flint, son of Capt. Thomas and Priscilla (Porter) Flint, born in Reading, September 23, 1755; married, February 24, 1778, Rebecca (Upton) Flint, a daughter of Jacob and Rebecca (Upton) Upton, and widow of his brother Jonathan Flint. He removed in 1790 to Fitchburg, and here died June 8, 1830. His widow died October 26, 1841; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

16. JONATHAN FLINT, while residing at Reading, served in Capt. John Flint's company, Lexington alarm, and in the siege of Boston, 1775.

He came to Fitchburg in 1778 and settled on Dean Hill. He died in 1835.

17. ABIJAH GOODRIDGE served on the quota of Lunenburg, in Capt. John Fuller's company, eight months, in siege of Boston, 1775; in Capt. Joseph Bellows' company, at Bennington, 1777; and in Capt. Nathaniel Carter's company, Saratoga, 1777.

Abijah Goodridge, a son of Joshua and Lydia (Stearns) Goodridge, was born in Lunenburg, February 21, 1754. In 1780 he removed to Fitchburg, and in 1840 he was one of the eight Revolutionary pensioners residing in the town. He married first, Eunice Martin; married second, 1808, Eunice Phillips; married third, 1816, Elizabeth Boynton. He died April 12, 1842; buried in South street cemetery.

18. MOSES HALE served on the quota of Newbury, in Major William Rogers' battalion, at Rhode Island in 1778.

He was a son of Moses and Margaret (Huse) Hale, and a grandson of Rev. Moses Hale of Byfield Parish, and was born in Newbury, July 5, 1745. He married Abigail Smith, and came to Fitchburg and purchased the farm on South street, previously owned by Capt. William Thurlow. He died February 9, 1814; his widow, Abigail, died July 14, 1825; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. Their son, Samuel Hale, was the father of Gov. Samuel W. Hale of New Hampshire, and of John and Henry Hale of New York.

19. BENJAMIN HARTWELL served from Littleton in Lieut. Aquilla Jewett's company, Lexington alarm, 1775; in Capt. Jonathan Minott's company, of Col. Baldwin's regiment, in 1776.

He was a son of Josiah and Bethia (Patch) Hartwell, born in Littleton, November 4, 1750; married, November 26, 1778, Sarah Saunderson, born February 9, 1752, daughter of Moses and Mary (Flagg) Saunderson of Littleton. He removed to Fitchburg in 1781, and died here April 3, 1813.

20. LEMUEL HASKELL of Harvard served in Capt. Gates' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, nine and one-half days.

He was a son of Samuel and Sybil (Willard) Haskell, born in Harvard, February 16, 1746-47. He removed from Harvard to Fitchburg in 1776, and was not again in the service. He died in this town, June 18, 1793; he married at Harvard, October 12, 1769, Lucy Green of Lancaster. She married second, June 13, 1798, Dea. David Wilder of Leominster.

21. WILLIAM HASKELL, while a resident of Harvard, served in Capt. Gates' company, at Lexington alarm; in Capt. Burt's company, in siege of Boston, 1775; and in Capt. Whitney's company, 1777.

He was a son of Samuel and Sybil (Willard) Haskell, born in Harvard, September 20, 1751. He removed from Harvard to Fitchburg about 1783. Two children of William and Mercy Haskell were born in this town.

22. ABRAHAM JAQUITH, while a resident of Billerica, served in Capt. Solomon Kidder's company, at White Plains, New York, in 1776. It is probable he rendered other service; there were two of the same name.

Abraham Jaquith, son of Abraham and Hannah (Farley) Jaquith of Billerica, was born January 3, 1727; married, May 12, 1755, Elizabeth Hill of Billerica. He came to Fitchburg in 1779, and here died October 15, 1802; buried in South street cemetery.

23. JEREMIAH KINSMAN, while a resident of Ipswich, served in Capt. Daniel Rogers' company, Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775; in Col. Samuel Johnson's regiment, 1777, at Saratoga, and in Col. Wade's regiment at Rhode Island, 1778.

Jeremiah Kinsman was born in Ipswich, November 6, 1748, and with his wife, Martha, removed to Fitchburg in 1786. His first wife, Martha, died in Fitchburg, April 11, 1810, aged 62 years. He married second, 1812, Lydia Caldwell of New Ipswich. He died in Fitchburg, November 6, 1828; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

24. AMOS LAWRENCE served in Capt. Jonathan Gates' company (Ashburnham), Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and was at Cambridge eleven days. It is probable that he was the Amos Lawrence who served in Capt. William Thurlow's company, Bennington alarm, 1777.

Amos Lawrence, son of Benjamin and Jane (Russell) Lawrence, was born in Westborough, August 7, 1748. He settled in the north part of Ashburnham, 1774, and removed to Fitchburg, 1791, where he died June 9, 1840, (headstone June 8); buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. He married, January 22, 1772, Sarah Wetherbee, who died April 5, 1818; he married second, in Fitchburg, October 7, 1819, Mary Whiting. Ten children by first wife were born in Ashburnham, and three by second wife, born in Fitchburg. Amos Lawrence was a first cousin to Dea. Samuel Lawrence, the father of Hon. Amos Lawrence of Boston.

25. DANIEL MCINTIRE served from Reading, in Capt. Wyman's company, in Rhode Island, May 10 to July 10, 1777; in Col. Brooks' regiment, guarding prisoners, November 5, 1777, to April 3, 1778; in Gen. Lovell's brigade, at Rhode Island, August 1 to September 12, 1778; and in Capt. Heath's company, guarding prisoners, from February 13 to May 12, 1779.

Daniel McIntire, son of John and Mary McIntire, born in Reading; married in Reading, February 27, 1781, Sarah Hutchinson, a daughter

of Josiah and Sarah (Dean) Hutchinson of Reading. He removed to Fitchburg in 1786. He was a resident here in 1803, but no record of his death is found. His sons, Daniel and Jacob, settled in Ashburnham.

26. ELIAS MCINTIRE, while a resident of Reading, served at Boston, in Capt. Nathaniel Heath's company, from February 13 to May 12, 1779.

Elias McIntire, son of John and Mary McIntire, was born in Reading, 1761. In 1791 he bought land of Jonathan Fletcher and removed to Fitchburg in 1792. In 1807 he removed to Stoddard, N. H., where he died. He married Rebecca Underwood, a daughter of Joseph and Mary (Poole) Underwood of Reading. Four children were born in this town.

27. JACOB MCINTIRE, born 1757, served in the Revolution on the quota of Middleton, nine months in the Continental army, in 1778, and six weeks in Col. Gerish's regiment in 1779.

He married, June 4, 1777, Phebe Hutchinson, a daughter of Josiah and Sarah (Dean) Hutchinson. He removed to Fitchburg in 1781. He died here, September 23, 1828; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. (It is probable he was a brother of Daniel McIntire, No. 25 above).

28. ABIJAH MEAD of Lincoln was a corporal in Capt. William Smith's company of minute-men, Lexington alarm, a sergeant in Capt. Asahel Wheeler's company in 1776, and served in Capt. Zachariah Fitch's company from August 23 to September 30, 1776. It is stated by William F. Wheeler that he enlisted at Lincoln in 1777 into the Continental army for three years.

Abijah Mead was a son of David and Mary (Bond) Mead, was born in Lincoln, and there baptized March 4, 1749-50. He came to Fitchburg in 1787, and married, 1788, Hepsibah Graves of Wayland. In 1799 he removed from this town, and died in the almshouse at Lincoln, May 1, 1837, aged eighty-seven. He was a pensioner.

29. JOHN MERRIAM, while a resident of Sudbury, served as corporal in Capt. Joseph Smith's company, Col. James Barrett's regiment, which marched on the alarm at Lexington, April 19, 1775; service three days. He served as private in Capt. Asahel Wheeler's company, Col. John Robinson's regiment, from February 4, 1776, one month and twenty-eight days. Other service should, perhaps, be credited to him.

John Merriam, a son of John and Mary (Bancroft) Merriam, was born in Sudbury, December 9, 1761; married Dinah Hudson, born in Sudbury, July 31, 1766, daughter of Darius and Dinah (Goodnow) Hudson. He was a carpenter and builder; lived in Concord, Lincoln, Uxbridge and Fitchburg. He was a pensioner. He died in Fitchburg, July 20, 1843; his wife died November 5, 1843; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. Their daughter, Cynthia, was the wife of Samuel Willis, a manufacturer of Fitchburg.

30. ELIPHALET PERLEY, while a resident of Danvers in 1775, was a corporal in Capt. Israel Hutchinson's company, Lexington alarm, and subsequently a sergeant in Capt. Hutchinson's company in siege of Boston.

He was a son of Asa and Susannah (Lowe) Perley, was born in Boxford, November 22, 1747, and married, March 24, 1774, Anna Porter, a daughter of John and Apphia (Putnam) Porter. In 1777 he removed to Rindge, N. H., and six years later he removed from Rindge to Fitchburg. He died in this town April 15, 1822; his widow, Anna, died July 10, 1825; both buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

31. ICHABOD PERRY, while a resident of Hopkinton, served in Capt. Henry Leland's company of Col. Willys' regiment, service forty-three days; in Capt. Amasa Cranston's company, Col. Samuel Denny's regiment, autumn of 1779, one month and six days at Clavernack.

He was a son of Samuel and Ruth (Leland) Perry, born January 7, 1756; came to Fitchburg 1780; married, January 24, 1782, Hannah Newton of Holliston, born December 13, 1762, daughter of Simeon and Jerusha (Marsh) Newton. He removed to Leominster about 1784, where he died. His widow died April 25, 1847, aged 84 years.

32. BLANEY PHILLIPS, while a resident of Duxbury, served in Capt. Samuel Bradford's company, Lexington alarm, 1775.

He was a son of Blaney and Christian (Wadsworth) Phillips, was born in Duxbury, July 3, 1736. He removed to Fitchburg in 1786, and here died December 10, 1824. His wife, Sarah, died June 16, 1821.

33. STEPHEN PINGREY, while a resident of Littleton, served in Capt. Aaron Jewett's company from July 27 to November 29, 1777, at Bennington and Saratoga; also in Capt. John Porter's company, Col. Denny's regiment, from October 19 to November 23, 1779, at Clavernack.

Stephen Pingrey was a son of Stephen and Anna (Jewett) Pingrey, was born in Rowley, June 3, 1759. He came to Fitchburg in 1784 and

resided for ten years in the vicinity of Dean Hill. Subsequently he lived in Franconia, N. H., where his wife died June 12, 1838. He died at Groton, May 8, 1844. He was a pensioner.

34. DAVID PRATT, while a citizen of Westminster, served in Capt. John Estabrook's company, Lexington alarm, 1775, and remained at Cambridge ten days.

David Pratt and wife, Hepsibah, settled in Westminster about 1770. In 1778 he removed to Fitchburg and here died June 29, 1839, aged ninety-three years; his wife, Hepsibah, died August 8, 1839, aged eighty-eight years. Four children were born in Westminster and seven in Fitchburg. He was buried in Laurel Hill cemetery.

35. JOHN PRATT was a soldier from Harvard, and on June 1, 1782, he was paid a bounty in that town for enlisting into the Continental army for the term of three years. Perhaps service of an earlier date should be credited to him, but there were so many of the same name that it is difficult to specify service of any one where no town is given.

John Pratt, a son of John and Mary (Hale) Pratt, was born in Harvard, February 7, 1760. He married, May 28, 1788, Rebecca Derby, born 1766. Before his marriage he settled in Fitchburg, and died here December 15, 1823; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. His widow, in 1840, was one of the eight Revolutionary pensioners then in Fitchburg, and was living with her son, John Derby Pratt, a pioneer in the manufacture of chairs in this town.

36. GEN. JAMES REED of Fitzwilliam, N. H., in response to the alarm at Lexington in April, 1775, raised a company of volunteers and marched with them to Cambridge. On the first of June he was commissioned a colonel and was engaged with his regiment, on the seventeenth of June at Bunker Hill. He served through the siege of Boston, being stationed at Winter Hill in Somerville. In 1776 he accompanied the patriot army to New York, and served under Gen. Sullivan in relieving the force under Gen. Arnold, in its retreat from Canada. On the ninth of August, on the recommendation of Washington, he was commissioned a brigadier-general. Owing to the loss of his sight by illness, while stationed at Ticonderoga, he was retired from the army on half-pay until the close of the war.

Gen. James Reed was a son of Lieut. Thomas and Sarah (Sawyer) Reed, and was born in Woburn, January 8, 1722-23. He was a veteran of the French and Indian war, and served almost continuously as captain of a company of provincial troops from 1755 to the termination of the war in 1762. He married Abigail Hinds of New Salem, and first settled in Brookfield, Mass., but in 1751 removed to Lunenburg, where for several years he was an innholder. From Lunenburg, about 1765, he removed to Monadnock No. 4, now Fitzwilliam, N. H., where he built the first frame house in the new town, and maintained it for some years as an inn. After retiring from the service in 1776, he resided for some years in Keene, N. H., where his wife, Abigail, died August 27, 1791. He married second, Mary Farrar of Fitzwilliam, and removed in 1798 to Fitchburg. He died here, February 13, 1807, and was buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. He had six sons and four daughters.

37. EZRA RITTER served nine months in the Continental army on the quota of Lunenburg from June to March, 1779, in Capt. Samuel King's company of Col. Thomas Marshall's regiment.

He was a son of Moses and Hannah Ritter, born in Lunenburg, 1761; married, October 9, 1784, Mary Carlton, and removed to Fitchburg in 1786. He was a resident here twenty-five or more years and five children were born here.

38. ROBERT SAMSON, while a resident of Duxbury, served five enlistments. He was in Capt. Thomas Turner's company of Col. Marshall's regiment, from April 1 to December 1, 1776; in Lieut. Nathan Samson's company fifteen days, alarm at Bristol, R. I., in December, 1776; in Capt. Andrew Samson's company at Plymouth, in 1777; in Capt. Calvin Partridge's company of Col. Abijah Stearns' regiment, at Dorchester Heights, from April to July, 1778, and in Capt. Calvin Curtis' company at Rhode Island from July, 1778 to January, 1779.

He was born in Duxbury, married Olive Phillips, and removed to Fitchburg in 1792. Three children were born in Duxbury and five in Fitchburg. He died in Fitchburg; buried in South street cemetery.

39. JABEZ SAWYER, while a resident of Harvard, served in Capt. Samuel Hill's company of Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, which was commanded by Lieut. Ephraim Sawyer, in a reenforcement in 1777 of the northern army.

He was a son of Capt. Manasseh and Lydia (Fairbanks) Sawyer, was born in Harvard, December 24, 1759; removed to Fitchburg in

1786, and here married, 1787, Hannah Brooks, born May 17, 1766, a daughter of John and Eunice (Derby) Brooks. Seven children were born in this town. He died December 21, 1844, aged eighty-two years; buried at South street cemetery.

40. ZACHARIAH SHELDON enlisted at Reading and served in Capt. John Flint's company, Lexington alarm, and in the third Reading company, commanded by Capt. Amos Upton, and later by Capt. John Flint, in siege of Boston, 1775.

Zachariah Sheldon was a son of Nathaniel and Anna (Fitch) Sheldon, was born in Reading, 1754; married, October 20, 1785, Mary Jones, born in Andover, January 20, 1768, a daughter of Josiah and Rebecca (Jenkins) Jones. He lived in Andover five years, and removed to Fitchburg 1790, and was here a farmer on the Ashby road. He died, March 30, 1815. His mother, Anna (Fitch) Sheldon, died in this town, April 25, 1820, aged ninety-one years. She was a daughter of Zachariah and Abigail (Davison) Fitch of Boston.

41. DANIEL STEWART served on the quota of Lunenburg in a battalion stationed at Hull, in Capt. Aaron Guild's company from June 25 to November 1, 1776.

He was a son of Solomon and Martha (Farrington) Stewart, born November 21, 1734. The family settled in Lunenburg in 1737. He married, March 14, 1757, Mary Ireland, a daughter of Abraham and Ann (Bird) Ireland. He removed from Lunenburg to Fitchburg in 1794, and died here June 2, 1802.

42. JACOB STEWART served on the quota of Lunenburg in Col. Doolittle's regiment, siege of Boston, 1775, and with his brother Daniel, at Hull in 1776. In January, 1778, he enlisted into the Continental service for three years, and was assigned to Capt. White's company of Col. Putnam's regiment.

Jacob Stewart was a son of Solomon and Martha (Farrington) Stewart, was born in Lunenburg, April 22, 1743. He married, November 18, 1766, Elizabeth Peirce, a daughter of Ephraim and Esther (Shedd) Peirce. He came to Fitchburg in 1764, and was elected to office in 1765 and 1766. He removed to Lunenburg in 1770, resided there eight years, when he returned to Fitchburg, but soon removed to Claremont, N. H. Two children were born here.

43. LUTHER STONE, a resident of Framingham, served in Capt. Simon Edgell's company, Lexington alarm, 1775.

Luther Stone, a son of Hon. Josiah and Ann (Haven) Stone, was born in Framingham, April 11, 1753; married Mary Trowbridge, born

in Framingham, July 10, 1758, daughter of John and Margaret (Farrar) Trowbridge. In 1795 he removed to Northborough and subsequently to Fitchburg, where he died December 20, 1838; buried in Laurel Hill cemetery. His daughter Harriet was the wife of Capt. Alpheus Kimball.

44. WILLIAM TIDMARSH was of Hull in 1756, and served in Lieut. Heman Lincoln's company a few days, alarm service. Later he was captain's clerk on the brig "Hazard" from August 22, 1777, to April 20, 1779. This brig, carrying sixteen guns, was built in Boston and was owned by the Commonwealth. The vessel made three or four successful cruises and was burned in August, 1779, by the crew, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy. Subsequently, William Tidmarsh was captain's clerk on the ship "Mars" from May, 1780, to March, 1781.

William Tidmarsh married, at Hingham, November 19, 1781, Mary Thaxter, a daughter of Joseph and Mary (Leavitt) Thaxter, of Hingham. In 1782 he removed to Fitchburg, where he lived several years. Mrs. Tidmarsh died a widow in Hingham, September 1, 1834. Two daughters were born in Fitchburg, who died unmarried in Hingham.

45. JOSEPH UNDERWOOD enlisted on the quota of Ashby to serve for three years in the Continental army from June 13, 1777. He was assigned to Capt. Parker's company, Col. Bailey's regiment, and was later in Capt. Ballard's company of Col. Brooks' regiment, and finally in Capt. White's company of Col. Brooks' regiment, in which he served to June 13, 1780. On some of the rolls his service was credited to Westford.

Joseph Underwood, son of Joseph and Ruth (Bancroft) Underwood, was born in Reading about 1742. He married, 1762, Ruth Poole, and lived in Reading until 1794, when he removed to Fitchburg, where he died. Five or more children were born in Reading, and of those, Mary was the wife of Thomas Miles of Fitchburg.

46. JACOB UPTON of North Reading served in Capt. John Flint's company at the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and was enrolled in Capt. Flint's company in May, 1775.

Jacob Upton, son of Joseph and Abigail (Gray) Upton, was born in North Reading, June 12, 1726. He lived in North Reading until 1777, when he removed to Fitchburg where he was an innholder and farmer

on the farm now (1908) of Charles L. Fairbanks. He married, January 24, 1750, Rebecca Upton, a daughter of Ezekiel and Joanna (Newmarch) Upton. Nine children were born in North Reading and one (1778) in Fitchburg. He died in Fitchburg, June 3, 1801; his widow died September 25, 1823, aged eighty-four years; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

The following named soldiers neither lived in the town of Fitchburg nor served on its quota, but they are buried here and their graves are marked as Revolutionary soldiers:

EDMUND FLINT served in Col. Fox's regiment at Fish-kill nine months in 1778.

He was a son of Jonathan and Lydia (Proctor) Flint, born in Reading, December 8, 1758; married, December 6, 1781, Abigail Damon, born November 16, 1784. After the war he settled, 1784, in Ashby, and there resided until his death. He died February 25, 1840; his wife died October 9, 1834; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

THOMAS LAWS served in Capt. Elisha Jackson's company twenty-two days in the autumn of 1777. The company marched from Westminster under command of Maj. Ebenezer Bridge to reenforce the northern army under Gen. Gates.

He was a son of James and Eunice (Hosley) Laws, born in Billerica, November 20, 1737. He settled in Westminster and there resided until his death. He died September 14, 1803, and his widow, Hannah, died November 1, 1806; both buried in Dean Hill cemetery.

At each of the graves of the Revolutionary soldiers buried in the several cemeteries of this city, so far as their location is known, there has been placed,—through the liberality of Mr. Henry A. Willis of this society—the distinguishing symbol adopted for that purpose by the Sons of the American Revolution. And each year, when the members of the Grand Army Post make their annual visitation to the graves of their departed comrades, these graves of Revolutionary sires receive the same attention that is bestowed upon those of the deceased veterans of the Civil War. There is a fitness that the same hands should decorate the graves of both. The first offered their lives a sacrifice to the independence of their country; the latter went forth to battle for the preservation of its integrity.

AN EARLY HOSPITAL OF FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, October 26, 1908.

BY EZRA SCOLLAY STEARNS, A. M.

Thaddeus Maccarty married in Boston June 16, 1716, Mary Greenough. Thaddeus Maccarty, a son of Thaddeus and Mary (Greenough) Maccarty, was born in Boston July 18, 1721. He was a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1739. He married in Boston September 8, 1743, Mary Gatcomb, a daughter of Francis and Rachel (Partridge) Gatcomb. He was the minister of the church in Worcester many years. Among the fifteen children of Rev. Thaddeus and Mary (Gatcomb) Maccarty was a son, Thaddeus, born at Worcester December 19, 1747. He was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1766, and pursued a course of instruction in medicine under the direction of Dr. John Frink of Rutland. He entered upon the practice of his chosen profession in Dudley, and there was associated in business with Dr. Ebenezer Lillie. In 1773 the professional partnership was dissolved, and Dr. Maccarty the same year settled in Fitchburg. At the earnest and repeated solicitation of his venerable father, who was aged and feeble, Dr. Maccarty removed from Fitchburg to Worcester in June, 1781. In 1785 he became a Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society. It is said by Mr. Lincoln, the historian of Worcester, that he did not receive adequate patronage in his native town, and that he removed in 1789 to Keene, N. H. At Keene he established a drug store at his dwelling, which was on Washington street and nearly opposite the jail. He was a selectman of Keene in 1796, 1797, and 1801, and a justice of the peace from 1797 until his death. Beginning in 1793, he conducted for a short time a hospital for the inoculation and treatment of small-pox at Charlestown, N. H., and it is worthy of mention

that his former associate, Dr. Atherton, opened about the same time a similar hospital in Lancaster. Dr. Maccarty died in Keene November 21, 1809. He married in Fitchburg January 16, 1775, Experience Cowdin, a daughter of Capt. Thomas and Experience (Gray) Cowdin of Fitchburg. She died at Worcester January 24, 1789. They had two children. Elizabeth, the younger, died in infancy, and Mary, born August 8, 1775, married at Keene November 30, 1801, John William Stiles, born at Keene February 22, 1777, a son of Jeremiah and Mary (Sanger) Stiles. After marriage they lived in Templeton and in Worcester, where he died September 24, 1836. His widow, Mary, died August 1, 1838. Their daughter, Mary Maccarty Stiles, was the wife of Henry K. Newcomb of Worcester. Their daughter Lydia married Alfred Dwight Foster, an able lawyer of Worcester.

Such, briefly stated, were the parents, the academic and professional education and the limits of the life work of the first physician of Fitchburg. His parents and his grandparents were worthy representatives of the most prominent families of their time. Except William Downe, who died before the town was incorporated, and the Rev. John Payson, he was the only college graduate who resided in Fitchburg before the close of the Revolution. Rev. Charles Stearns, a graduate of Harvard University, was born in the part of original Lunenburg now Fitchburg, but his parents removed to Leominster before he had entered the university.

For reasons which will be stated in a subsequent paragraph, the name of Dr. Maccarty is not often found during the first six years of his residence in Fitchburg. As soon, however, as his professional labors were less exacting, his townsmen gave frequent expression of their esteem and their estimate of his ability and worth.

In 1779 he was chosen an assessor of taxes, and at the annual meetings in March, 1780, and 1781, he was chosen a selectman. He was one of a committee to hire soldiers, and in this service his associates were Col. Ebenezer Bridge, Capt. Thomas Cowdin, Capt. William Thurlow, and Capt. Jonathan Wood. In August, 1779, was assembled at Worcester the historic convention for the

regulation of prices of commodities. In this convention Dr. Maccarty was a delegate from this town. A few days after the convention was dissolved, the town of Fitchburg, at a special meeting, voted "To accept the proceedings of the convention at Worcester."

It is not my purpose on this occasion to present a sketch of Dr. Maccarty. I desire to call attention to his conscientious labors and self-sacrifice in the successful treatment of the most dreaded and malignant disease of his time. To-day, living under improved sanitary conditions, enjoying the benefit of better legislation, more efficient enforcement of the laws, and protected by vaccination, we can hardly realize the constant fear of the small-pox, which during the life of Dr. Maccarty exercised the public mind. This alarm was not unfounded. In the French and Indian wars the number of deaths from small-pox in the hospitals was greater than the casualties of battle. Soldiers returning to their homes introduced this dread disease into nearly every town of the colonies. This secondary devastation of war was carried to peaceful firesides, and the avenging and merciless spectre of war gathered many of the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, of the soldiers to its merciless bosom. Again, in the Revolution, the small-pox, with its trail of sickness and death in the field and in the homes, was a stronger and more dreaded foe than the hostile army. In one of the Massachusetts regiments serving in New York in 1776, there were over four hundred cases of this disease. The army retreating from Canada early in 1777 experienced an unusual amount of sickness and suffered extreme loss from the small-pox. Many here will recall the fact that, at one time not long before the Revolution, when the disease was prevalent in Boston, many of the wholesale merchants closed their stores and temporarily conducted their business in Medford.

The people of Medford also became alarmed, and in town meeting voted "That a fence and gates be erected across the main country road, and a smoke house also be erected near Medford great bridge and another smoke house at the West End, and guards be kept." In this instance the town proposed to smoke every traveler from

the east or from the west, and stationed a guard at the main thoroughfare to enforce the edict. In the contemporaneous records of many towns are found passages expressive of the constant fear of the most dreaded and contagious of all diseases.

In an era of such danger and reasonable alarm it is not surprising that many voluntarily exposed themselves, or were inoculated for the disease, that they might enjoy the security of the immune in after life.

The first physician of America who advocated this heroic method of protection was Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, a learned and skillful physician of Boston. He inoculated his son and the servants of his household, and when others came to him for treatment he was combatted by the profession and frowned upon by the public and by the government. In the progress of years and by a significant reduction of the death rate in cases of the small-pox, the opposition was weakened, and inoculation prevailed to a much greater extent than is generally known. There are some present this evening who remember that in one of the vivacious letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague this brilliant writer advocates voluntary inoculation for the small-pox.

As an illustration of the prevailing conditions and practice during the early years of Dr. Maccarty's career, I will cite the report of a committee appointed in Boston to gather statistics on this subject. In September, 1776, the committee reported to a town meeting in Boston "that 295 white persons and nine blacks had received the small-pox in the natural way, and of these 29 had died, being one death in every ten cases; and that 2873 residents of Boston, 1329 persons from other towns, and 786 soldiers, making a total of 4988 persons, had had the disease by inoculation. Of this number, 28 had died, being one death to each 192 persons." The committee is in error, the figures indicate one death in each 178 cases.

About the time that Dr. Maccarty entered upon the practice of his profession, Dr. James Latham came to America and established his home at Livingston Manor in New York. He introduced in this country what was known in England as the Sutton method of treatment

of patients who had been inoculated for the disease. He established a hospital at Great Barrington, but his principal business consisted of contracts with physicians. The medicines employed were a secret, and Dr. Latham furnished his medicine to those physicians only who contracted to pay him one-half of all the money they received as fees for small-pox cases until the sum paid should amount to three hundred pounds, and thereafter Dr. Latham was content with one-third of the fees of the contracting physicians.

Dr. Maccarty had witnessed the activity and the prevalence of the small-pox during and immediately succeeding the French and Indian war. He was conversant with Boston, where in time of war and of peace the seaport was an exposed point and subject to frequent visitations. At the dawn of the Revolution he could estimate, as few were prepared to do, the danger from this contagion during another war. He knew that the scourge would again stalk abroad with renewed energy and malignity. While others were deaf or sleeping he heard the future call of his friends and neighbors for the skill and ministration of the good physician. He believed the Sutton remedies were better than his own, and he realized the necessity of immunity. In 1775 he surrendered his practice for a few weeks, repaired to the hospital at Great Barrington, and there, combining experiment with theory, he studied the nature of small-pox by having it. It was a study and an investigation of the disease at short range. All of his former theories were now tempered in the fire of personal experience. To be a martyr of the historic type one must close every avenue of escape and suffer death. If there are degrees of martyrdom this heroic self-sacrifice will write the name of Dr. Maccarty upon the scroll of the brave who have willingly suffered for the good of their fellowmen. As a part of his original plan Dr. Maccarty contracted with Dr. Latham, on the terms previously stated, for the use and for a supply of the Sutton remedies. The license he received gave him permission to use the remedies in all the towns of Worcester county. Before the close of the year 1776 there were several other physicians of the county who had made con-

tracts with Dr. Latham. It is probable that professional courtesy restrained Dr. Maccarty from any attempt to practice under the contract outside of Fitchburg and the surrounding towns.

There is reasonable evidence that Dr. Maccarty began the use of the new remedies before the close of the year 1775, and it is apparent that he soon realized the necessity of a hospital for the accommodation of an increasing number of patients and for the safety of the public.

There was a province law forbidding the establishment of such hospitals without a special license from the court of sessions. Such permission was not delayed. At a session of the court of sessions held at Worcester August 15, 1776, it was ordered that permission to erect five hospitals for the inoculation of the smallpox be granted, one in each of the towns of Fitchburg, Worcester, Lancaster, Uxbridge, and Hardwick, all to be subject to the future order of the court. At the same session of the court it was further ordered "That Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty is permitted to erect the hospital at Fitchburg.

That Dr. Samuel Crosby of Shrewsbury, Dr. Elijah Dix and Dr. Joseph Lynde of Worcester are permitted to erect the hospital at Worcester.

That Dr. William Dunsmoor and Dr. Josiah Wilder are permitted to erect the hospital at Lancaster.

That Dr. Samuel Willard and Dr. Levi Willard are permitted to erect a hospital at Uxbridge.

That Dr. John Paddleford and Dr. William Woolson are permitted to erect a hospital at Hardwick."

In accordance with the existing laws of the province the court further ordered that Moses Gill of Princeton, Edward Davis of Dudley, Ebenezer Larned of Oxford, Israel Nichols of Leominster, Daniel Henshaw of Leicester, and William Young of Worcester be a committee to establish rules and regulations for the conduct of the several hospitals.

The rules and regulations formulated by this committee and approved by the court are too lengthy for quotation, but are preserved in the records of the court at Worcester, volume 4, Court of Sessions.

It was required that each patient should file a bond of ten pounds that he would obey all the rules of the hospital concerning the exposure of the public, that the physician should visit each patient daily, that the hospital should be enclosed with a fence, a guard stationed at the gate, and that no one should leave the premises without a certificate of cleanliness, and no patient discharged until he had been washed in rum and vinegar.

In a warrant for a town meeting convened in Fitchburg in September, 1776, is found an article:

"To see if the town will allow of a hospital for the Anocalation for the Small Pox or act anything refering theirto."

There is no record of a vote nor any other mention of the subject in the town records, but it is safe to assume that the town was not hostile to the proposition, and probably, in view of the permission of the court of sessions, the consent of the town was not necessary. And immediately a capacious building was erected and a hospital established. It was not as palatial nor as well equipped as the Burbank hospital of the present, but in every day of its activity it received a larger number of patients. The number of accepted applicants from Fitchburg and the surrounding towns so rapidly increased that Dr. Maccarty called to his assistance the professional services of Dr. Israel Atherton of Lancaster. There is reason for assuming that the hospital was in operation about two years. The number of patients received and treated was over eight hundred, and of this number only five died. Exclusive of board, the regular and uniform charge for medical attendance was one pound and ten shillings, which in 1776 was equivalent to ten days of unskilled labor or ten bushels of corn.

A brief sketch of Dr. Maccarty and reference to the hospital in Fitchburg appears in Lincoln's History of Worcester, page 216, and in the Worcester chapters of the History of Worcester County, 1889, vol. II., page 1557. Exclusive of the court records, the only original source of information of which I have any knowledge is the manuscript of John W. Stiles, who married a daughter of Dr. Maccarty, and who had access to his account books and papers.

Mr. Torrey, in his history of Fitchburg, confirms the statement of Mr. Stiles that over eight hundred patients were treated at the hospital, and that of this number only five died. In Mr. Torrey's statement is found the added fact that the dead were buried on the hill near the hospital, and that at one of the graves is a stone bearing the inscription, "Josiah Fairbanks of Lancaster, died March 12, 1777." Mr. Fairbanks was born in Lancaster in 1734. He married Abigail Carter, and at his death they were the parents of eight children from one month to sixteen years of age. His widow subsequently married Samuel Wilder of Lancaster.

Mr. Torrey says the hospital was on Buck hill and in the rear of the dwelling house of Philip F. Cowdin. Mr. Torrey was writing in 1835, one year before Mr. Stiles prepared his account of the life work of Dr. Maccarty. The farm owned and occupied by Philip Farrington Cowdin in 1835 previously had been the home of his father, Thomas Cowdin, Jr., a brother of the wife of Dr. Maccarty. The old Cowdin homestead is on the Westminster Hill road, on a considerable elevation of land, and not far from the line of Westminster. The buildings have been gone several years and now the crumbling walls of the cellar are the only visible evidence of one of the old and substantial homesteads of Fitchburg. The exact location of the hospital has faded from the memory and traditions of the present generation of men. They planted no lilacs near the door to mark the site in later years. Nowhere on this sightly hill, in the morning or the evening of sunny days in June, do we find the damask rose whose fragrance and bloom annually remind us of the good physician and the practice of a former generation. The veterans who survived the conflict with disease held no reunions on the scene of their willing immolation. The buildings long ago were removed, the foundations are obliterated, the headstone of Josiah Fairbanks cannot be found, and, save the pen of Mr. Torrey pointing to Buck hill, and slender aid in the registry of deeds at Worcester, nothing now remains to define the exact location of the first hospital of Fitchburg. There were three buildings. The hospital was seventy-five feet long and twenty-eight

feet wide. Two smaller buildings were erected near. Phineas Fullam, October 1, 1776, sold to Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty of Fitchburg and Dr. Israel Atherton of Lancaster one hundred acres of land in Fitchburg, bounding one hundred and sixty rods on Westminster line. November 1, 1779, Dr. Atherton sold an undivided half of the premises to Capt. Thomas Cowdin, and immediately Capt. Cowdin and Dr. Maccarty, reserving the buildings, sold the land to Thomas Cowdin, Jr. The original title of Phineas Fullam is found in the Proprietors' Records of Lunenburg, printed copy, page 244.

AN EARLY WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF FITCHBURG.

Read at a meeting of the Society, December 15, 1902.

BY EBENEZER BAILEY.

Societies and organizations of laboring men are not of modern invention. Hundreds of years ago they existed in Europe, but their numbers and importance have varied with time and conditions. One hundred years ago labor organizations of the modern kind were hardly in existence, but the conditions of labor and the system of industry were assuming a form which induced and necessitated the association of the working people for their own protection. It is not necessary to go into the evils and abuses of the factory system in England in those early days, for they are well known and universally admitted. Robert Owen was one of the first to recognize the claims of the employees on the employer, and his efforts were rewarded with success, and did much to help on a general reform. But Robert Owen finally became a socialist, and in 1826 he came to the United States and founded a community in New Harmony, Indiana. His standing and reputation for ability in England caused him to receive a great deal of attention here, and many of our bright young minds were prepared to receive with favor his socialist or communistic doctrines.

The doctrine of Fourier, the French philosopher and socialist, next affected society. From 1842 to 1846 his theories, which may be said to have been a compromise between communism and the present industrial system, spread rapidly throughout the country. They were advocated by Horace Greeley, through the New York Tribune, and numbers of communistic villages were established, the principal of which were Brook Farm, The North American

Phalanx, and the Wisconsin Phalanx. The "Harbinger," the official organ of Fourierism, was published at Brook Farm. But while communism and Fourierism appealed strongly to so many young men and women at this time, it was not a genuine labor movement, but had its roots and its strength in the ideal, and in the intellectual condition and feelings of the ardent and enthusiastic portion of society at this period.

The cause of the rise and extension of the real labor movement in the United States was the radical change in character and the rapid growth of our industrial system. New England, especially, which had been entirely agricultural and commercial, was becoming the seat of manufactures and of the factory system, with its whirling machinery and its thousands of looms and spindles. Men, women, and boys and girls from the farms had become mill hands, and were brought together as never before in new and strenuous labor, for the sake of the small amount of ready money which they could earn from month to month—a great consideration for them.

The wages of factory operatives fifty or sixty years ago seem to us very small, ranging from one dollar to two dollars and a quarter per week for girls (including board), and all the way from this to a dollar and a half per day for overseers. The hours of labor, moreover, would be the proper occasion for a strike in our time, for they ranged from twelve to fifteen hours per day.

An old-time factory operative, writing of his experience in a factory in southern New Hampshire about 1850, says: "Summer and winter were the only seasons, so far as length of working days was concerned, and I do not remember the dates which separated them. In summer the old factory bell rang at half-past four in the morning to rouse the village from its sleep, and five minutes before five began tolling the summons to work. At five o'clock, sharp, speed was on and every operative was expected to be in his or her place to set the separate machines going. At half-past six there was a shut-down of half an hour for breakfast, and the denizens of the mill poured out and scattered to their boarding places, and in a few minutes began gathering more slowly and gradually back. At

seven o'clock the machinery was going again and active fingers moved constantly about, plying the many operations necessary to keep the processes in motion which converted raw cotton into finished cloth. At half-past twelve there was another half-hour stop for dinner, at the end of which the relentless bell tolled the scattered forces of industry back, to go through the same round until seven o'clock at night. In winter the mill was not started, and we did not have to be at work, until six o'clock, but we had breakfast before going into the mill, and we went out at half-past five in the afternoon to supper, and returned at six, to work an hour and a half longer."

The first distinctive labor organizations were formed in New England about 1831. In that year the "New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Workingmen" was formed in Boston, and agitation soon followed in regard to ameliorating the condition of labor. A man by the name of Seth Luther delivered lectures to arouse interest in the subject in the principal towns and cities of New England, and much sympathy was awakened in regard to the hard condition of the factory operatives. Among the prominent men in Massachusetts who sympathized with the working people were Robert Rantoul, William Ellery Channing, James G. Carter and Horace Mann. Robert Rantoul vindicated the legality of labor organizations before the courts in 1842, which was a matter of great importance to the cause of the workingmen.

In April, 1840, President Van Buren signed a general order introducing the ten-hour system into the navy yard and in "all public establishments." This was a great aid in the agitation for a reduction of the hours of labor in the factories of Massachusetts, which was begun a little later, and upon which a special legislative committee made a report in 1845; but it was not till 1852 that any reduction was obtained, and then of only two hours per week.

It was in the year 1844 that a Workingmen's Association was organized in Fitchburg. The town was grow-

ing and further prosperity was assured by the nearly completed Fitchburg railroad. It had already become quite a manufacturing place. The population doubled and the valuation more than doubled from 1840 to 1850. Of course the mill hands here worked as did mill hands in other places. Mechanics made long days. In some of the indoor employments they worked through the day and evening. In outdoor employments the hours of labor were regulated more by the rising and setting of the sun, but twelve hours was probably a good average day's work.

The New England towns were no longer farming communities, as they were forty or fifty years before. The Revolution, ushered in and justified by the Declaration of Independence, had fostered in the people an intense hatred of anything which seemed like oppression. The new social conditions brought about by the introduction of large manufacturing establishments, making prominent the difference between capitalist and laborer, was the occasion of antagonism and protest.

In Fitchburg just these conditions were present. There were one woolen and three cotton mills, and the hands employed were native Americans, used to labor and willing to labor, it is true, but proud, sensitive and independent, and besides these and sympathizing with them were the numerous, intelligent mechanics of this growing town. Then there were in Fitchburg quite a number of young men of active mind and with literary and professional ambitions, to whom any cause in the name of liberty and equality made a strong personal appeal, and was eagerly welcomed. Young professional men—students at law—found it congenial and useful to take part in a movement to improve the condition of the workingmen. There was William S. Wilder, who had been editor of the Worcester County Courier and the Fitchburg Sentinel, and who, in company with E. R. Wilkins, was about to publish a newspaper under the name of the "Wachusett Independent." There was William C. Elleck, a harness maker, who some years previous had edited and published the "Cold Water Cup and Fitchburg Washingtonian," and W. F. Young, harness maker and dentist, soon to be editor of the "Voice of Industry." All these men were interested

and prominent in the Fitchburg Workingmen's Association.

The original record of this Association has fortunately been preserved, and is now in the possession of this Society. It contains the names of 131 members, 116 of whom were males and 15 of whom were females. It contains the record of twenty-six meetings—the first one being held November 13, 1844, and the last meeting May 24, 1845. From it we have gleaned some facts which may be of local if not of general interest.

Some of the laborers and mechanics of Fitchburg had conferred together on the question of forming a Workingmen's Association, and it had been looked upon with such favor that a preliminary meeting had been called to meet at the town hall near the upper common on Wednesday, November 13, 1844. There were, says the record, "a respectable number of the Laborers and Mechanics of Fitchburg" present. The presiding officer of the meeting was Mr. Nathaniel Gilmore, a mechanic who worked in a foundry. Mr. E. R. Wilkins was secretary. There were first a few remarks from the chairman in regard to the design of the meeting, after which Mr. Birch of Lynn addressed those present in "a spirited manner" upon the danger which threatened the laboring classes from the evils of society, and the necessity of organization "to protect their rights and secure the blessings bequeathed to them by Nature's God." Other remarks were made and a committee of five was chosen to frame a preamble and constitution to be presented at the next meeting. This committee consisted of D. Wilkins, Mr. Gilmore, W. F. Young, Captain Proctor and E. R. Wilkins. Then the meeting adjourned to meet at the same place on Thursday evening, November 21, at half-past six o'clock.

Mr. E. Birch, who was the principal speaker at this first meeting, was, according to the record, from Lynn; but he took up his residence here in Fitchburg and worked as a shoemaker for Horace Hayward in a shop next to the old Baptist church building on West Main street, now owned by G. M. Parks. It is doubtful if there were any mill hands present at this meeting, and there were few at any of the subsequent meetings, as they were held not

later than seven o'clock. On Saturday nights, however, the mills closed earlier and some effort was made to have the meetings held on that evening, but it failed, except on a few occasions.

The next meeting, on Thursday of the following week, was presided over by Capt. Hosea Proctor. Capt. Proctor was the father of Mr. Augustus Proctor, pioneer in the transportation business from West Fitchburg to the centre. The first business was the report of the committee on the constitution, which committee reported, and its report was adopted. This report consisted of a long preamble with a short constitution, and this preamble was eminently philosophical and oratorical. It seems to have been very favorably regarded by the Association, and was sometimes read at their meetings.

To this constitution there were appended at various times 131 names, 116 of whom were males and 15 females. Very few of the men were factory operatives, but it is probable that most of the females worked in the mills. The name which heads the list is that of Milton Whitney, a young law student in the office of Nathaniel Wood. A few of the other names were as follows: Daniel Wilkins, Hosea Proctor, W. F. Young, G. F. Bailey, E. F. Bailey, Abel Eaton, Solomon Pratt, Joseph Lowe, E. Birch, Alfred Ordway, Philo C. Pettibone (Trinitarian minister), Charles Shepley (brother of the late Stephen Shepley), W. S. Wilder, Edward Atkinson, Benjamin Snow, Joseph Gerry, Aaron Eaton.

At this second meeting, November 21, a committee was chosen "to draft resolutions for the association," which committee consisted of W. F. Young, D. Wilkins and E. F. Bailey. Then Mr. Palmer of Lowell, editor of the "Workingmen's Advocate," who was present, addressed the meeting at length upon "The humiliating condition of the poor people of this country and England, under the oppressive factory system." W. F. Young, for the committee on resolutions, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"Resolved, 1st, That the interests of the laboring classes are intimately connected with the welfare of our country and mankind at large.

"Resolved, 2d, That the Laborer is the vital principle of society, and without him the community would be a body without a head.

"Resolved, 3d, That the injunction 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' is as true and binding now as when uttered by our Creator.

"Resolved, 4th, That we see in the present strife of labor against capital, and in the relations which the laborer sustains to the capitalist, causes at work which will inevitably bring the laboring classes of this country into the same condition as those of Europe. And resolved further, That it shall be the object of this Association to prevent, as far as possible, a crisis so fatal to the best interests of this country and mankind.

"Resolved, 5th, That while we will maintain our own rights with unwavering firmness, we will not encroach upon the rights of the capitalist."

The third meeting of the Association was held on Saturday evening, November 23, in Putnam's tavern, on the site of the Fitchburg Hotel. At this meeting officers were chosen. They were, president, Samuel Walton; first vice-president, F. A. Kendall; second vice-president, H. Proctor; recording secretary, W. F. Young; treasurer, W. Fuller; directors, E. Sackett, E. F. Bailey and Milton Whitney. Mr. Palmer of Lowell again addressed the Association at length. A committee was appointed to bring in more resolutions, and the meeting then adjourned till the next Monday evening at 6.30 o'clock, in the Trinitarian vestry.

Mr. Palmer remained in Fitchburg over Sunday and again addressed the meeting on Monday evening, the record says, "with much feeling." A vote of thanks was then unanimously tendered him for his labors, and the meeting adjourned.

The next meeting was held in the Trinitarian vestry, November 29. It was in this room that most of the meetings of the Association were held. A few were held in the town hall, and two meetings were held in the brick school house on the corner of Blossom and Crescent streets. On December 18 a committee was appointed "to procure, if possible, a place to hold meetings on Saturday evenings,

to accommodate those who are denied the privilege of attending other evenings of the week." At the next meeting, December 28, the committee reported "that no public room suitable for such meetings wherein the rights of the Laborer and the welfare of mankind can be proclaimed, can be procured in the Town of Fitchburg—with one exception—being the Academy Hall, which can be procured for four weeks—one meeting per week—for *four dollars, if paid in advance.*"

At the following meeting, January 2, 1845, a committee was appointed, after some discussion of the financial concerns of the Association, "to circulate papers among those who are friendly to the pecuniary prosperity of the Society."

Lectures and debates comprised the usual exercises of the meetings, which continued through the winter and spring of 1845. At the meeting held December 13, 1844, the question was discussed at length, but without decision, "whether the Association should be held accountable for any sentiment or language introduced by any person or member speaking before the Association." At the same meeting the following resolve was introduced by W. C. Elleck, and laid on the table:

"Resolved, That as the present evil state and organization of Society tends to abase and destroy the social and intellectual happiness of *woman*, we wish it to be distinctly understood that the doctrine of equality embodied in the principles of this Association extends to her the privilege of giving in her testimony in the deliberations of our meetings."

At the thirteenth meeting, which was held January 25, in the Trinitarian vestry, the exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Pettibone, after which a lecture was given by Rev. Mr. Proctor of Sterling. After the lecture a committee was appointed "to take into consideration and report upon the expediency of transmitting to the Boston association a written account of the rise, progress, present state and future prospects of this association, agreeable to a resolution passed by that association a few weeks since." At the next meeting this proposition was favorably acted upon.

There was considerable agitation among the members of the question of a separate political organization. On the evening of February 11, at the Trinitarian vestry, Wendell Phillips addressed the Association on the subject of "Political organizations—showing their futility." He was followed, according to the record, by H. Clapp, Jr., of Lynn, and James Buffam, but the record does not say that they took opposite ground to Mr. Phillips, although it is very probable. At a meeting held two weeks later the Association decided against political organization for the present.

During the winter, arrangements were being made throughout the state for a labor convention, to be held in Lowell in March. At first five delegates were chosen by the Fitchburg association, but at a later meeting it was voted that the whole Association be a delegation to attend. This vote was afterwards rescinded and two delegates, John Scisson and Sanford Sawyer were chosen, with instructions to vote for political action, if the question came before the convention. On March 25 a report of this convention was made by the delegates to the association. The report was accepted, but it was voted to choose a committee to draft resolutions "protesting against that portion of the proceedings of the Lowell convention which suppressed the right of free speech."

On February 20, a committee of five—one from each religious society in town—was chosen to invite the different clergymen to lecture before the association, but it does not appear that any of them, with the exception of the Trinitarian minister, Philo C. Pettibone, ever took part in the meetings. At the meeting, February 27, it was voted to extend an invitation to A. Crocker, Esq., to lecture, but there is no record that he responded to the invitation.

On the evening of March 19 an interesting meeting was held in the town hall. For this occasion the Association had secured the services of an eminent gentleman from New York, who must have represented the aggressive element of labor. The record of the proceedings of that evening is as follows:

"The meeting was called to order by the president. Mike Walsh, from New York City, was introduced to the

audience, who addressed it at some length on the present false organization of society in his own interesting and peculiar style. The Association signified their approbation by returning the speaker a vote of thanks."

One story told by Mike Walsh at this lecture has come down to us. A certain capitalist had said to Mike, in answer to the charge of very low wages paid to working men, "Well, aint they glad to get it?" "Yes," replied Mike, "it's just like this. You fall off the wharf into the water. I look at you struggling there, and conclude I'll help you out; so I get a long pole, and seeing a heap of tar near by I run one end of the pole into it, getting it pretty well covered with the stuff. Then I hold it out to you just as you are going down. Aint you glad to get it?"

At the meeting held at the Trinitarian vestry, March 25th, the chairman of the directors, Samuel Walton, presented four resolutions, the first of which advocated ten hours for a day's work, and the fourth an eight-hour system of labor. This would seem to indicate a rapid progress of reform, in the direction of less work.

The Association showed its practical side at the April 11th meeting, when W. F. Young "presented the destitute circumstances of a family in the neighborhood, and urged their claims to the sympathies of the audience. A collection was taken up and W. F. Young appointed to convey the proceeds thereof to the said family."

With the advent of spring the interest in the meetings of the Association seems to have declined, and its last meeting was held May 24, 1845, at eight o'clock P. M., in the Workingman's reading room (located probably in Proctor's block, corner of Main and Central streets). The only business transacted was the choice of two delegates to the "Boston Convention." Philo C. Pettibone and W. F. Young were chosen, and "the meeting adjourned *sine die*."

Notwithstanding this apparent apathy in regard to meetings, members of the Association undertook at this time the enterprise of publishing a weekly paper, devoted to the cause of labor, under the name of the "*Voice of Industry*." The first issue was May 29, 1845, and the subscription price was one dollar per year, payable in ad-

vance. W. F. Young was editor. For the purpose of publishing this paper, an association was formed and shares were placed at five dollars each. But it did not prove to be a financial success, and the crisis came some months later when an assessment was levied upon the shares. The paper was transferred to Lowell, where it continued to be published for some time.

In all the records of the Fitchburg Workingmen's Association there is no reference to strikes and no hint of Labor Unions. It seems to have been a society for the discussion of principles and the agitation of a cause. It was actually a debating society upon questions relating to the cause of labor. It was part of the general social and political movement of society in the United States, which sustained the condition of our laboring population far above that of their fellow workers in Europe.

ASHBURNHAM RESERVOIR FLOOD.

A paper read at a meeting of the Society, April 18, 1898.

BY SULLIVAN W. HUNTLEY.

On the morning of May 6, 1850, the dam at Rice pond in Ashburnham broke away, resulting in great damage to property in the valley below. In giving an account of this disastrous flood, I quote freely from the history of Ashburnham by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns. The altitude of the town of Ashburnham is greater than that of the surrounding country on the east, south or west. The line of the watershed between the Connecticut and the Merrimack valleys extends diagonally through the town. The line of division is easily traced from Great Watatic over the low ridges between upper Naukeag and Rice pond to the old common. Diverging to the north and east, the line extends near the ancient Winchendon road to near the John Woods farm, thence southerly and westerly to the corner of Winchendon.

The northwestern or Connecticut slope is drained into Miller's river. The southern or Merrimack slope is divided into four sections and is drained by as many streams flowing outward. The first section embraces the basin defined by the Great Watatic, Little Watatic, and Blood hill. Here the overflow from Stoger meadow, with the waters from Ward's and Watatic ponds give rise to a branch of the Souhegan river.

The second drainage is of small area laying between the Blood and Russell hills, embracing a portion of Dutch and Cambridge farms, assuming the name of Willard's brook and is a tributary to the Squannacook river in Townsend. The third drainage is bounded on the north and east by the Connecticut slope and the first and second sections of the Merrimack slope. The western boundary is the height of land from Meeting-house hill to the line of Westminster. The water collected at Rice or Reservoir

pond is drained by Phillips brook, flowing through the centre of the village and onward through the northern part of Westminster into Fitchburg.

The fourth drainage is collected in the stream rising in the Nashua reservoir, flowing through the village of South Ashburnham, thence through Westminster to the line of Fitchburg, uniting with Phillips brook at West Fitchburg. Dashing on in a first embrace through the rocky valley of Fitchburg, it pursues its way through Leominster and Lancaster to a point between Groton and Shirley, where it receives the Squannacook, bearing the waters of the second drainage. Together the triune river, engulfed in stronger currents, falls into the Merrimack river at Nashua. Perhaps, somewhere in the river-bed, they recognize and mingle with the clear waters from Watatic pond, which in its onward course to the ocean has wandered through the valley of the Souhegan.

There are eight natural ponds in Ashburnham. Four are tributary to the Connecticut and four to the Merrimack river. Rice pond, formerly called Wenecheag pond, is the most important body of water in the Merrimack drainage. The dam at the outlet is about twelve hundred feet above tide water and had been maintained many years. The waters within this beautiful lake had held themselves subject to the wants of man, responding cheerfully from time to time to the demands of the water-wheel, the spindle and busy loom,—a willing servant contributing to the happiness and enhancing the wealth and comfort of those dependent along the river course to the sea. Not content with this service, and to increase the storage capacity of the reservoir, early in the spring two feet of clay soil had been placed on top of the dam without sufficient support of stone and spiling; thus the greed and cupidity of man contributed largely to the calamity that followed.

Sunday, immediately preceding the flood, was a rainy day; and during that night there was such a precipitancy that Monday morning found the reservoir full,—two feet higher than ever before. To add to the immense force and pressure of the water the wind was blowing a gale from the northwest, across the surface of the pond, breaking against and gradually wearing away the crown of the

dam. Soon a small stream flowed over the top, widening and deepening with every wave. At this time the break was discovered, and men hurried with shovels to stop the leak. It was too late. At last the servant became the master, cruel and relentless. The dam yielded and the maddened waters went pouring through seeking deep-sea level, fifty miles away at the mouth of the Merrimack. The mighty volume of water swept away every dam and every bridge spanning the river between the reservoir and Fitchburg. In the town of Ashburnham alone twelve dams, two chair and cabinet shops, a greater portion of an extensive tannery, a cotton factory, saw mills, morocco tannery, two blacksmith shops, three barns, dry houses and storehouses were destroyed, and almost every building on the stream injured. The waters rushed along with terrible force, and with a noise heard distinctly, as that of distant thunder, four or five miles away; and followed so closely the break of the dam that there was no opportunity to remove or save property, and many people at work escaped as by a miracle. The Naukeag cotton mill was the first to receive the force of the torrent. For a moment it seemed as though the mill with its living occupants was doomed; the dam giving way and the swift current cutting a channel on the other side, left the mill isolated and alone as upon an island. The help were taken out of their peril by boats. Not so fortunate the other mills. The current increasing in volume and force, carried away in the following order: Abel Taylor's blacksmith shop, Merrick's machine shop, and with that William Rice's; Fletcher & Newhall's tannery, that of Caldwell & Ellis; Day's saw and grist mill, Wheeler's shop, and Horace Black's and J. P. Wilder's shop, a portion of C. & G. C. Winchester's shop, Charles Stoddard's wheelwright shop, and damaging the Blackburn mill. The old Dustan saw mill was swept away, and sad havoc made of the morocco shop of L. B. and Andrew J. Adams. The farms of Amos Whitney, Samuel Brooks and David Whitney were flooded, and their various storehouses and other small buildings swept away. These industries were all in active operation, and most of them in less than two hours were ruined. Chair material, hides, and various other

articles were tossed up like feathers and scattered all along the valley. Says an eye-witness, "as the roar of the waters was heard, the bells began to ring, the wind blew strong, and the shouts of the many persons hurrying to the scene of disaster added to the excitement." The houses that were destroyed seemed to tremble as the flood reached them, then opened with a cloud of dust and fell like paper houses. The flood left in its track huge boulders, uprooted trees, and piles of sand, with an aspect of desolation through all the valley. "One of the humorous incidents of the day," says a letter to the *Gardner News*, "was the sight of a cask tossing up and down on the water and in it a setting hen. All expected to see her washed out or something occur to drive her from her place, but a setting hen has a decision of character and determination of purpose not excelled by any creature. She looked fiercely out, but seemed to say 'I intend going on with my business whatever comes.' She passed along, and next day it was found the cask had lodged in a safe place and she had hatched her downy brood." This letter was written some thirty years after the flood, and we might possibly consider it a tradition; but another authority says "the hen that was setting in a barrel started in the village from above the bridge, and was carried about a mile below and thrown upon the bank in Nat. Pierce's woods, opposite the farm of Charles Barrett." Neither authority informs us whether the "downy brood" as they tapped their way into the sunlight of that May morning were web-footed or otherwise, or whether her ladyship was a high-bred or a common dung-hill. It is safe to say she was much "in the swim" and will never be forgotten in Ashburnham.

Another laughable incident occurred as the flood reached the factory village. A young man who was living on the banks of the river, taking his wife of a few days in one hand and his fiddle in the other, fled to the hills. History informs us that Nero fiddled while Rome burned, also we learn from *Quo Vadis* that the tyrant Nero made merry while the eternal city was in flames. Tradition is silent regarding the conduct of this young man as he overlooked the village from his safe retreat. An incident occurred in our own city, when a building being on fire, an elderly

gentleman, making sure of his trunk of bonds and stocks, hastily left the building, leaving his poor old wife to find a safe exit for herself. In comparison, we think the young man's conduct natural and commendable.

I have made much of these humorous incidents as they seem to have been the silver lining to the dark cloud that overhung the town of Ashburnham on the eventful day. The mill owners were mostly young men who had acquired small properties and had lost all. Many men were thrown out of employment. A general feeling of discouragement at first prevailed. A meeting of the citizens was held and a committee was chosen to solicit relief. The Rev. Elnathan Davis, afterwards pastor of the Trinitarian church of this city was the chairman, and Charles Stearns secretary. Generous sums were received from the towns around, and the names of the donors are safely preserved in the archives of the town; and the people of Ashburnham are not likely to forget those who helped them to build again waste places.

It is to be remembered that this calamity occurred before the era of the telephone, and that Mr. Rockwood could not step into the pay station and call up the Beoli Mill, or, connecting with the central station, flash the tidings along the river to the Merrimack. Says an authority from whom I have quoted, "As soon as the alarm was heard the dam has burst, and before the flood reached the village, Mr. George Rockwood, a merchant here, started with a fleet horse for Fitchburg, sounding the alarm as he rode. At West Fitchburg he shouted, "The old reservoir dam has gone—the waters are coming!"

According to this authority, the people of West Fitchburg thought that Mr. Rockwood was an alarmist, *par excellence*, and were not disposed to take much stock in his story—some telling him, "There was not water enough in Ashburnham to harm us;" others said, "Don't think there will be much of a shower." There is a tradition in Ashburnham that as a precautionary measure the owners of the woolen factory occupied by H. C. Friar & Co. at Rockville sent out men to remove the flash-boards. This mill was owned by Col. Ivers Phillips, and was the first one to receive the shock from the coming waters. Says

an eye witness, "The wave was from six to eight feet high, the crest covered with a wreckage from Ashburnham, to which had been added the machinery and wreckage from the saw and grist mill of Mr. George Wood, in Westminster. This mill was entirely swept away and the workmen in the mill had hardly time to escape. The waters soon cut a passage through on the south side of the Phillips mill, leaving the dam intact. It was an agent from a mill town down East that wired the Boston owners after a disastrous flood, that "there was a dam by the mill site, but no mill by a dam sight." This epigram might have properly applied to this mill after the tidal wave from the reservoir and the accumulated waters from twelve broken dams reached it. It is impossible, at this late day, to speculate upon what would have been the condition of the dam had they succeeded in removing the flash-boards. As it was, the mill was a wreck, the machinery an entire loss, and a large lot of wool and cloth carried down the stream. It is quite evident that the people of Rockville were either not generally notified of their danger or were incredulous as to the amount of damage they might be subjected to, for it is said of Capt. Alfred White (whose shop was the next in line) that he was busy at work when the water began to pour in at the gable end, and that he was obliged to make quick time to save his life. This shop was built of stone; the flood carried out the lower end of the shop, washing out the breast-wheel, carrying it from seventy-five to a hundred feet from where it originally stood to the Whitney & Bogart pond below, the west end of this dam giving way.

The flood passed round both sides of the Whitney & Bogart paper mill. The damage was very slight and the dam was not carried off. There was a dwelling house on the north side of the bridge spanning the stream. This house with its contents was lifted up, carried over the road and swept down the causeway below. On the east side of the bridge was a store. A Mr. Carter and another gentleman, who entered the store to remove the books, narrowly escaped by climbing an apple tree as the building was swept away. They were momentarily in danger of sharing the fate of the store as the driftwood and water

surged around them. They were finally rescued from their position by means of ropes and ladders. On the west side of the river below the bridge, was a small cotton mill called the Baldwin mill. This mill was undermined and swept into the stream. The factory hands escaped with much difficulty,—the old bell in the mill tolling as it went over with the tower into the maddened waters below. The dam was destroyed. Below the Baldwin mill was the trip-hammer shop of Page and Miles, the water taking out the west end of the dam with slight damage to the shop.

Below the shop of Page & Miles was a small shop occupied by Laban Bullock as a wood turning establishment. The canal supplying the water was damaged, though the shop escaped. From the Friar mill to the dam of the Simonds scythe shop was a fall of one hundred and eight feet, with six privileges; and the volume of water was so great as it passed over the dams that it had the appearance of one immense cascade, carrying with it great quantities of wreckage,—and there was piled up, on the south end of the Simonds' dam, chair stock from the mills of the Winchesters in Ashburnham, hides from the tanneries, machinery from the Friar and Baldwin mills, and cords upon cords of all kinds of debris. And in this short distance was the principal loss to our town from the freshet of 1850. Col. Ivers Phillips furnished the following letter to the Sentinel under date of May 17, 1850:

"Mr. Editor: Below I give you a correct statement of the amount of my loss by the late freshet as near as I can estimate it. My object in doing so is to correct misunderstandings that have gone abroad. In the first place I am one of the proprietors of the Naukeag mills and I estimate that my portion of the loss there is

estimate that my portion of the loss there is	\$125.00
Farm covered by gravel, lost fruit trees in Rockville,	500.00
Woolen mill, dye house, dam and land washed away,	5,000.00
One new house with land that it stood upon,	1,000.00
Cotton mill, dam, wheel, machinery, tools, etc.,	6,000.00
One store building,	500.00
Personal property in store,	1,000.00
Stock and supplies in mill,	1,500.00
Loss of books and papers,	500.00

Total,	\$16,125.00
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This is an estimate of the loss of property actually washed away and destroyed. There is a large amount of property remaining which

is rendered worthless by the loss of the mills, and will remain so until the mills are rebuilt, which may be soon, or may never be. Under the most favorable circumstances the loss of rents and use until they could be rebuilt would be two thousand dollars. If they should not be rebuilt for some years, the depreciation of property must swell my loss to a sum much larger than twenty thousand dollars, but taking all chances into consideration I estimate my loss at that sum and think it about as likely to be more as less.

* * * * *

Yours truly,

IVERS PHILLIPS."

As an indication of the volume of water passing over the dams, it was stated by Mr. William Kimball that by his measurement there were eleven feet of water above the roll-way at the Lyon dam. The waters passed over with slight damage to the paper mill of Jesse Lyon & Sons, and the scythe shop of A. Kimball & Sons. At the saw mill built by Captain Levi Pratt, and owned by McIntire & Works, the water went round both sides of the mill, with slight damage to the mill, and the dam resisted the pressure from the flood. This privilege is now the property of Mr. F. F. Woodward. The dam and canal of Messrs. Sheldon & Carter was damaged to a considerable amount, and a large quantity of lumber belonging to the firm and to Francis Sheldon was swept down the stream. The old Red Mill, operated by Levi Sherwin, was the next in course, and escaped with slight damage. One pier of the bridge between West Main and River streets gave way; the waters below this point had plenty of room. Circle street at that time was unknown. The Davis chair shop had not been built, and the whole space bounded on the east by Rollstone street, on the north by the river, west by River street and south by the Vermont & Massachusetts tracks, was devoid of houses or buildings of any kind, excepting the brick dwelling house owned by Franklin Phillips, situated immediately across the bridge between West Main and River streets, and the carpenter shop of Prichard & Hartwell on Rollstone street. This whole space included within the above boundary was one unbroken sea of water, rising so high that it covered River street. At one time it was thought that the woolen mill itself (then in charge of William H. Vose) would suc-

cumb to the rising flood, but fortunately, the road giving way on either side of the dam, made an outlet for the waters. A portion of the dam also gave way. The damage to this property, besides the dam, consisted in the washing away of a long dry house situated below the dam. It was lifted from its foundation, broken in two and nearly ruined. A number of cords of wood, carried off by the waters, found a temporary resting place with the neighbors below. The wood was recovered later by legal process. In an interview with Mr. John Keough he informed me that the first intimation the mill hands had of the coming flood was through the Hon. Ebenezer Torrey, who came into the mill, walked the length of the spinning room, and taking Mr. Vose by the arm made known to him the impending danger. It was soon excitement throughout the mill. Mr. Keough hurried down to inform a Mr. Duffy, a mill hand, of the danger. Mr. Duffy at the time was pasturing his cow on the lot between the mill and river. He succeeded in driving his cow safely across the Rollstone street bridge and had barely time to return before a portion of the bridge gave way.

Mr. Keough was not so fortunate. In removing the cloth from the dry house he got caught in the swift current which was taking him down stream. Fortunately, he was a good swimmer and made for a large tree standing on the river bank. He reached the tree and climbed into a safe position. He was an unwilling captive for about two hours, when a rope was got to him and made fast to the tree. The other end of the rope ran through the handle of a basket, and a sailor who was stopping here at the time pulled himself to his rescue. Mr. Keough, cold and benumbed from his exposure, got into the basket and pulled for liberty and the shore. The sailor followed, hand over hand, on the rope. Mr. Keough is still with us alive and hearty.*

The shops of Messrs. Prichard & Hartwell, on the opposite side of the river on Rollstone street, were damaged to the amount of two hundred dollars. The damage to the Newton factory was slight. The road-bed of

*Mr. John Keough died June 20, 1902.

the Vermont & Massachusetts railroad at this point was badly washed. The waters as they swung around under the railroad bridge into the Stone Mill pond found plenty of room. The "back-bay" improvements of a later day had not then been thought of. Putnam street, with its grade crossing problem, was not vexing the fathers of the town. The Putnam Machine Company was furnishing machine tools to the world from their shop on Water street, and there was nothing to impede the onward flow of waters.

On or near the present site of the saw mill of J. Cushing & Company, on Laurel (now Cushing) street, stood the tannery of Caldwell & Sprague. As the waters came from under the railroad bridge they overflowed the banks of the river, raised the buildings from their foundation, ground them to pieces and dumped them into the current above the stone bridge. Messrs. Caldwell & Sprague afterwards rebuilt their tannery on the flat below South street. Damage to the stone mill proper was not serious. Below this point was the pond that furnished power for the old Burbank paper mill, and hard by was the foundry of Asher Green. From the breaking of the reservoir in Ashburnham to this point, amid the washing away of bridges, the destruction of dams and dwelling houses, the wreck of mills, with barely time for the help to escape—in all this mad rush of waters there had not been the loss of a single human life.

As the flood reached the foundry there were two men in a boat securing floodwood, Mr. Samuel Roberts and Thomas Brooks. The waters caught the boat, and as it was rapidly approaching the falls and beyond their control, they jumped from the boat, evidently thinking they could save themselves by swimming. The current was too strong, and they were swept over the dam. Mr. Roberts was never seen again. Young Brooks came to the surface, the current bore him rapidly down the stream, and as he approached the railroad bridge he made motions to Mr. David Ware, who had followed rapidly down the banks, as though he intended to swim out of the current into the wide pond below. At this time a floating plank was seen to strike him in the head, forcing him

under. He was never seen again. Mr. Roberts' body was found, lodged on the dam of the Duck Mill, Monday, May 27, a fortnight after he lost his life. The body of young Brooks has never been recovered. He was the son of Abner and Mary R. Brooks, one of a family of eleven children.*

At the woolen mill controlled by the Hon. Joseph W. Mansur, later known as the Fitchburg Worsted Company, the damage was comparatively slight. The damage at the Fitchburg Duck mill was estimated at a thousand dollars.

The Sentinel in its issue of May 10, 1850, four days after the freshet, placed the loss in Ashburnham and Fitchburg at two hundred thousand dollars after having, as the editor says, "traversed the whole line of devastation." We are inclined to think the estimate high, though he says "men of good judgment place the loss to Ashburnham alone at one hundred thousand dollars."

The committee appointed by the town of Ashburnham to ascertain the amount of direct damages, reported on

*Through the courtesy of the wife of Major Theodore S. Foster, a sister of young Brooks, I am permitted to present the following transcript from a diary left by her father:

"James Brooks was killed in Townsend by the upsetting of a cart September 27, 1832, he being eight years, five months and eight days old. He was a fine boy, of much promise, a great scholar, one in whom I had much anticipation. Thomas was drowned May 6, 1850. He was swept off and another man with him, at the memorable Ashburnham freshet. He was sixteen years, eight months and eleven days old. He was an apprentice to Mr. Asher Green. He was a natural poet and a natural sculptor. He was a good boy, in whom I had many fond hopes. Melvin was killed October 27, 1852, aged thirteen years, eight months and six days. He went to the school taught by Mr. Charles Lamb; after school he with several of his schoolmates went to a shooting match not far distant. He darted in front of a rifle to capture a wounded chicken, and was instantly killed, the ball passing through the back of his head. Sorrow seems to be my nearest companion, for I was called to mourn the loss of another child by violence. Maria Louisa, my oldest daughter, and her husband, were on their way east from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and when on the New York and New Haven railroad was run off the drawbridge at Norwalk, Connecticut, and instantly killed, with about fifty others, through the carelessness of a drunken engineer by the name of Tucker. This horrible accident happened on the 6th day of May, 1853, just three years from the time Thomas was drowned. A remarkable fatality for one family."

June 10th, after a careful canvass, in an itemized statement, the sum of \$31,645 as the total loss. That would leave nearly seventy thousand dollars to cover the loss to bridges and highways,—a very liberal sum.

In the town of Fitchburg the greater portion of the loss was felt in Rockville.

Col. Phillips placed his loss at.....	\$20,000
H. S. Friar (estimated)	16,000
Capt. Alfred White (estimated).....	4,000
Whitney & Bogart.....	800
Jesse Lyon & Sons.....	600
A. Kimball & Sons.....	600
Messrs. Sheldon & Carter.....	500
Fitchburg Woolen Mill.....	1,000
Newton Mill.....	200
Stone Mill.....	1,000
Burbank Mill	1,000
J. W. Mansur Mill.....	1,000
South Fitchburg Duck Mill.....	1,000
Town of Fitchburg, on account of roads and bridges,	6,000
A. G. Page.....	1,000
	<hr/>
	\$54,700

In 1845, five years before this disastrous flow of waters, the Fitchburg railroad was opened up to business, and Mr. Crocker had established not only the fact that there was such a place as Fitchburg, but that it was destined to become an important factor in the commercial and business world. Three years later the Vermont & Massachusetts road was practically finished, with the tunnel to be completed in due time. Another factor entering into the development and growth of our city was the building of the Fitchburg & Worcester road by Col. Ivers Phillips and his associates. This connection through Worcester brought our merchants and manufacturers in close business relations with the south and west, and placed us on a parity with other manufacturing places in New England. These railroad facilities stimulated to rapid growth the industries already here, and made openings for others; and although not dependent upon the small power furnished by the Phillips brook, most of the more recent industries have for convenience settled along the banks of this small stream, that on Monday morning, May 6th, 1850, became so turbulent.

"Peace hath its victories as well as war," and there have been "captains courageous" in the peaceful accumulation of wealth incidental to the building of large manufacturing plants in our city. We build monuments to our military heroes. Why not to the heroes of more peaceful times?

In closing this account of an incident in the history of this town, an incident fraught with much discouragement to the men of that period, I will suggest a monument. I would take as the base, good, clean-cut granite from old Rollstone. I would invoke the genius of Mr. Herbert Adams to arrange in detail the engine of the railroad, the loom of the mill, the lathe of the machinist, the machinery of the paper mill, with emblems of other and varied interests, which, when wrought into a grand whole would rest fittingly upon the base of granite; and surmounting them all, I would place in enduring bronze the statues of three men. I would place the monument in Railroad Park, and name as my heroes the Honorable Alvah Crocker, the Honorable Rodney Wallace, and Colonel Ivers Phillips. "They builded better than they knew," and subsequent generations will reap a grand harvest from their pluck and endurance.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY HALL.

Read at a meeting of the Society, April 18, 1904.

BY EBENEZER BAILEY.

The first gathering of the citizens of Fitchburg for the election of town officers and the discussion of municipal affairs was held in the tavern of Samuel Hunt, and in the same place the first preaching service was also held. The vote for the erection of a church building on land given by Capt. Thomas Cowdin was as much to provide a suitable place for town meetings, as for religious services. There was then no need of offices for town clerk, town treasurer, selectmen, etc. The church was the town hall and there was not the slightest incongruity or objection to the use of the same assembly room for both religious and secular affairs. When, in 1796, a new church building was erected on the common, its use was for the same purposes, but after division and separation of the first church and parish, and the building of the present Unitarian church, this building was moved to the corner of Main and Circle streets, and was used only for town meetings and other public purposes till it was superseded by a new town house.

In the year 1850 Fitchburg was a town of over five thousand inhabitants. In ten years it had doubled in population and nearly trebled in valuation. It had a railroad, its manufactures were increasing; it was growing and prospering. Its town hall, which was once considered ample, had become small and inconvenient and insufficient to accommodate hardly one-half the voters. Moreover what beauty it ever possessed had departed. The people felt that a new building more in keeping with the size and prosperity of the town was needed. As to the question of location, some of the old feeling which convulsed the town, more than fifty years before made its appearance, but seri-

ous trouble was prevented by the wise action of the citizens, represented by an able and judicious committee.

So it came about that an article was inserted in a warrant for a town meeting to be held on January 5, 1852, which read as follows:

"To see if the Town will take any measures for the erection of a Town House for the use of the Town of Fitchburg."

Great interest was manifested in this meeting and the town hall was filled to overflowing. When the article was brought up for consideration a motion was made "To build a new Town House or repair the old one." The voters preferred to divide the question and the first part of the motion was carried—"to build a new town house,"—by a vote of 139 to 118. Then the town voted to choose a committee of seven "to take into consideration the whole subject-matter, both as to plans and location, and to report to the town at an adjournment of the meeting, three weeks from this day." The following were chosen as that committee: Nathaniel Wood, Chedorlaomer Marshall, Alvah Crocker, Moses M. Gage, Edwin Upton, James P. Putnam, and John Prichard.

At the adjourned meeting held on the 26th of the same month the committee made the following report:

"The committee chosen on the fifth day of January, 1852, 'to take into consideration the whole subject-matter of building a new town house, both as to plans and location, and to report at an adjournment of the same meeting, three weeks from that day,' have attended to the business assigned them, and make the following report:

"First, as to the plan of the new town house. The committee recommend that said house be one hundred feet long and sixty-five feet in width, two stories high, built of brick above a stone basement; the brick walls to be forty-three feet in height; the two stories to be of the respective height in the clear, as follows: The first story above the basement seventeen feet, and the second story, calculated for the town hall, twenty-four feet in height. Taking off about twenty feet from the front for entrance, stairs, etc., will leave in the clear a town hall seventy-nine feet long by sixty-two feet wide, which, with a gallery over the entrance, it is expected will hold comfortably about fifteen hundred persons. Plans and drawings of said building are herewith submitted.

"Second, as to the location of said town house. The committee have examined several spots and have ascertained as near as they can the probable cost thereof.

"1st. The enlargement of the spot where the present town house stands, so as to make it of sufficient capacity to receive a building of the size above contemplated can be procured at the probable cost of fifteen hundred dollars.

"2d. A spot just southerly of Central Block, where now stands the house occupied by Dr. Blood, can be procured at the probable expense of four thousand dollars.

"3d. The southerly portion of the lot recently owned by Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of sufficient size, can be procured for the sum of twenty-three hundred dollars.

"4th. The lot directly opposite the last-named, between the Trinitarian church and the house of Dr. Palmer, may be obtained for twenty-one hundred and twenty-five dollars.

"Several other lots have been examined and their prices ascertained, but, as the committee entertain a belief that they would not be acceptable to a majority of the town, they are not here reported in detail.

"The committee are fully aware of the great importance of so locating a large, commodious, expensive and permanent town house that it will meet the approbation of most of our fellow citizens, and being further aware that our population is rapidly increasing, and that it is impossible to foretell where will be the center of business and population ten or twenty years hence, they have found it very embarrassing to come to a conclusion satisfactory to themselves where said new town house had better be placed. The expense of the spot ought to be but a small item entering into the consideration of a location which will meet the approbation of the present generation, and will receive the approval of succeeding ones as a fortunate selection, made with a wise and prudent forecast and a successful anticipation of future wants.

"Having these considerations in view, a majority of the committee recommend that the new town house be placed upon the lot secondly above named, which is just southerly of Central Block, on which now stands the house occupied by Dr. Blood. Per order

NATHANIEL WOOD, *Chairman.*"

The report was accepted and the recommendation adopted, placing the new town house where it now stands, but it was a close vote, standing 147 to 142. The following persons were chosen a building committee: Nathaniel Wood, James P. Putnam, Ivers Phillips, Chedorlaomer Marshall, William Carleton, Abial J. Town, Edwin Upton.

Justin Stearns was later chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Ivers Phillips from this committee, and for some reason, in the following November, when the town house was nearly finished, the resignation of Nathaniel Wood from the committee was brought before a town meeting for acceptance, but the voters proceeded to choose him to fill his own vacancy.

At the annual town meeting in March, 1852, an effort was made to change the location of the building, but it failed. The *Fitchburg Sentinel*, in its issue of March 12, 1852, has the following editorial on the new town house:

"It is now a settled thing that we are to have a Town House. The last lingering impediment to its immediate construction, in the shape of the article in the last town warrant, has now been removed, and all that remains is to wait with patient expectation the erection of the building. We are glad the matter is settled, and are still more pleased that it has been arranged so satisfactorily. Not a word of complaint or disaffection has reached our ears since the question has been finally decided; but, on the contrary, there has been an unusual expression of satisfaction. 'East' and 'West' have met upon the selected spot and shaken hands like brothers. We have no doubt they are both preparing to bury the tomahawk there, and to smoke a solemn calumet of peace the very first time the doors of our new Areopagus are publicly thrown open. The general feeling is that old grievances, feuds and complaints should be lumped with ancient town rubbish of all sorts, and should all be thrown away together, and a new order of things entered on. The dingy old town house, with its grim, black walls, festooned with cobwebs—its nondescript floors inlaid with quids and veneered with tobacco juice—its uncomfortable benches, upon which a man was rather caught than seated—this dingy old receptacle was well adapted to the hatching and brooding over of strifes and dissensions."

It was estimated that the proposed building, built according to the plans submitted, would not cost over fourteen thousand dollars and the furnishings two thousand dollars, which, with the four thousand dollars for the land, would make the whole cost twenty thousand dollars, and this was the sum put at the disposal of the building committee. When the bids, however, came in for the erection of the building, they all exceeded fourteen thousand dollars, and the committee were in despair, for they had instructions not to spend a dollar over the twenty thousand dollars appropriated for all purposes. The Hon. Nathaniel Wood was chairman of the committee. Col. Ivers Phillips, who was also on the committee, relates in his reminiscences, that at one meeting, after they had been striving in vain to find a way out, Mr. Wood threw the plans down on the table, saying, "We can't have a town hall. We can't get it built for that money. We won't have a town hall." Col. Phillips said "I will resign my place on this committee and I will build the town house for the fourteen thousand dollars."

The offer was accepted and the town house was built. The town reports show that Col. Phillips was paid fourteen thousand six hundred and thirty dollars, but this included work on the lower rooms in addition to the contract. The sum of five hundred and sixty-five dollars was paid Merriam & Holden of Westminster, for settees. I suppose they are the same now used in the hall, though unfortunately, they are not mellowed with age.

The dwelling house standing on the lot was bought by Benjamin Snow and moved back in Cottage square where it now stands in the rear of Central block. Ward B. Farrar, a Fitchburg carpenter and contractor, had charge of the erection of the building. Dea. S. A. Wheeler did the stone work. William H. Goodwin, our veteran contractor and builder and ex-superintendent of buildings, worked under Mr. Farrar. He helped hew the big sticks of timber for the trusses as they lay by the side of the street in front of the building. The first pressed brick ever used in Fitchburg were put into the walls of the new town house. There were originally some terra cotta ornaments in front, which were given by a Worcester firm.

On the ninth day of September, 1852, the Democratic State convention, which nominated Henry W. Bishop of Lenox, for governor, met in the new town hall. It was not yet finished, being still unplastered, and the staging had to be taken down for the occasion, to be again replaced. Our Mr. F. C. Currier was a delegate to the convention from Holliston. The citizens of Fitchburg much enjoyed the importance of the occasion, when the "streets were unusually full of bustle and excitement." The *Fitchburg Sentinel* took occasion to "blow a trumpet" in its leading editorial, under date of September 10. We quote a portion of the same:

"It is but a few years since when a project of a railroad from Fitchburg to Boston was first started, that appeals for subscriptions and assistance were met by those to whom they were made by the contemptuous inquiry of 'Where in the world is Fitchburg?' It is, therefore, somewhat significant of its increased notoriety, at least, that the Democratic party of Massachusetts have not been afraid of bewildering their delegates by appointing the place of rendezvous at Fitchburg, or entertained any fears of their losing themselves by the way." * * * * *

"The city of Worcester had not one-half the guaranty of great future

growth in natural resources—which she is destitute of, with the exception of her centrality of location—that is now possessed by Fitchburg, and we know of no reason why we should not, at no distant day, rival her in her wealth, business and prosperity.”

The *Lowell Daily Advertiser* published an article on “Fitchburg and its Hospitality,” relative to this convention, from which we quote as follows:

“The new Town Hall, not entirely finished, is one of the largest and most elegant in its architectural arrangement in the State, and will be a lasting monument to the liberality of the place.”

By the opening of the new year the Town House was finished. In its issue of January 7, 1853, the *Fitchburg Sentinel* said:

“Our new Town Hall is at length finished and is to be opened on Friday evening by a levee of the Agricultural and Industrial Association. There can be no worthier way of dedicating the hall than by celebrating its opening by a festival of the agricultural and industrial classes, and we have no doubt that they will coincide in the opinion. We may justly regard the opening of the new hall as marking an era in our town history. The industry and thrift of our citizens have gradually developed the resources of the town, increased its wealth and extended its business, until within a few years they have resulted in multiplied and improved highways and substantial and handsome bridges, and one of the finest halls in the Commonwealth. The building in every respect confers high credit, both upon the liberality of the citizens of the place, the judgment of the committee, and the skill of Col. Phillips, its contractor.”

On Friday evening, January 7, 1853, the Agricultural levee and dedication of the new hall was held, and the building was filled to its utmost capacity. Rev. Calvin Lincoln gave an account of the early history of the place and his first experience as a clergyman, and there were other speeches, and singing by the Fitchburg Musical Association. Among the sentiments read were the following:

“*The Building Committee.* Their task was an arduous one, and it has been well and faithfully accomplished; but in estimating the amount of credit that is due them, it must always be considered that they had been provided with such excellent *Wood* to get up steam with.”

“*The Manufacturers of Fitchburg.* Its mainstay and support. May they ever continue to prosper and increase. It is expected that this toast will be responded to in an appropriate and elegant manner by a *Man-sur.*”

“*By J. T. Everett, Esq., of Princeton.* May the time soon arrive when a just legislation of the old Bay State shall grant us the privilege

of changing the name of this Society from the Fitchburg Agricultural Association to that of the Agricultural Association of Fitchburg County."

An original poem was read, entitled "THE OLD TOWN HALL TO THE NEW." There were twelve stanzas. I give the first and the two concluding ones:

"The die is cast! my glory has departed;
My days, like the old years, have all passed by.
Poor and forsaken, old and broken-hearted,
Here I am left alone to die.

* * * * *

"Sure be thy place of rest, my fair young brother;
And far the time when thou shalt kneel in dust,
To give thy name and glory to another,
Surrendering up, as I do now, thy trust.

"But when is past thy day of strength and beauty,
May a bright death-smile light thy crumbling wall,
At the remembrance of a life of duty—
This is the farewell of the

OLD TOWN HALL."

On Tuesday evening, January 25, Richard H. Dana, Jr., lectured in the town hall, on Edmund Burke. Oliver Wendell Holmes lectured in February, and Rev. Samuel Osgood of New York, in March. These lectures were under the auspices of the Fitchburg Athenæum, then just organized. On Thursday, February 10, the ladies of the First Parish held a fair and social tea party at the new town hall.

On Monday, the seventh day of March, 1853, the first town meeting was held in the new town hall, and Edwin Upton, Cyrus Thurston, Abel Simonds, James P. Putnam and Abel Stevens were chosen selectmen. The Fitchburg Cornet Band held a social levee in the hall on Monday, March 23, and on Tuesday, October 11, a large and enthusiastic convention was held in the town hall, to further the interests of the Hoosac Tunnel; and many prominent people from abroad were present—among them Maj.-Gen. Wool and suite.

In 1853 the Fitchburg Bank, which owned and occupied a small stone building, standing on the corner of Main street and Farwell place, built a new building of brick on the same spot. While the work was going

on the bank occupied a room in the new town house. It was the room which was later occupied by the selectmen, now the room next to that of the city auditor. Most of the bank's funds were kept in the vault of the Rollstone Bank, but the money used daily was kept in a safe in the vault of the town clerk. Mr. Joseph A. Tufts, then clerk in the bank, slept in the town clerk's office which was the room on the northeast corner, now the private office of the city clerk. Next came the room fitted up for the Fitchburg Athenæum, which, later, became the Fitchburg Public Library. This took up the room to the passageway in the rear, extending through the building and dividing it from the lower town hall, which extended across the building. On the other side of the town house the first room was the one now occupied by the city auditor, then by Deputy-Sheriff A. P. Kimball. Next toward the rear was the room occupied by the selectmen, assessors and overseers of the poor, and next, the room occupied by the post-office from May, 1854, till its removal in 1872. The rent paid by the post-office for the year ending March, 1856, was \$100. The corner basement, afterwards used as a police station, was then used as a meat and provision store.

The lower town hall was finished in anticipation of its need for county purposes; and when, in 1856, Fitchburg was made a half-shire town the sessions of the Superior Court were held here. I remember attending some of the trials held there. Especially I recollect the case of Bowker vs. Lee. The parties were from Templeton, and it seemed as if nearly all the inhabitants of that town were here as witnesses. It was a case of slander. On one side the counsel were, I think, Hoar and Dewey, and on the other Rice and Verry—all of Worcester. I remember Mr. Hoar as pacing back and forth most of the time with his hands in his pockets and ejaculating "I object" to most of the questions asked by the opposing counsel. I do not now remember the judge.

In 1863 the Episcopal church was organized and held its services in the lower town hall, with Rev. Henry L. Jones as pastor. This was their place of worship for five years, until their church was completed.

In the year 1861 or 1862 the building had a narrow escape from destruction by fire. It was on a Monday morning when the fire caught from an overheated furnace. There were two furnaces in the cellar, one near the center and one (from which the fire caught) nearly under the room occupied by the post-office. The fire worked its way through the floor and into the post-office boxes, destroying the two lower tiers. The charred and blackened wood-work underneath the floor can be seen to-day from the cellar.

The Court House was built in 1870, and the lower town hall was no longer used for county purposes, and in 1872 the post-office was removed to the building corner of Main and Church streets (formerly the Trinitarian church). The new City Government was inaugurated in 1873, and rooms for the aldermen and common council were made by taking the former post-office and a portion of the lower town hall.

In 1879 an addition was made to the building in the rear, to which the library was removed. The school committee were given the present board of health room, the assessors the next room, and the water registrar the next. While this addition was being made the severe gale of July 16 struck the building in the rear, where the wall had been removed, and raised a portion of the roof and timbers. Tin roof, boards and timbers were hurled through the air, causing considerable damage to the building. The enlarged building and hall were dedicated by appropriate exercises October 20, 1879.

The old passageway between the post-office and library and the lower town hall ran nearly where the present partition is between the rooms of the aldermen and common council. There are two windows—one in the room of the board of aldermen and the other in the room of the board of health, which indicate where were the two doors opening outside from the rear passageway before the enlargement. They are a little narrower than the other windows.

The more recent history of the City Hall is so well known to you all that it need not be called to your remembrance. For more than half a century it has been

the center of the municipal and much of the social life of Fitchburg. Its walls have echoed to the voices of great and illustrious men. Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Ward Beecher, John G. Saxe, Anson Burlingame, and many others have stood upon its platform and moved and stirred the inhabitants of Fitchburg with words of wisdom, wit and eloquence. Here, during the War of the Rebellion, before the assembled and sorrowing people were held the public obsequies of some of our honored dead, whose bodies were brought back to us from southern battle-fields; and to those who have lived here for many years and attended the old town meetings, the building recalls the features and the voices of many who have long since left the scene of their endeavors and successes: Nathaniel Wood, Alvah Crocker, Jesse Spaulding, Ivers Phillips, George E. Towne, and many another who took part in those interesting and important assemblages of the people which are now gone and past into history.

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